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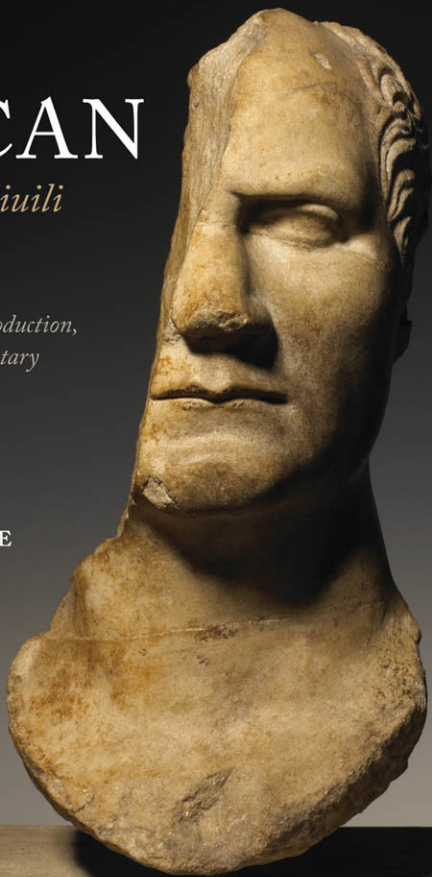
LUCAN

De Bello Ciuili

BOOK I

*Edited with Introduction,
Text, & Commentary*

PAUL ROCHE



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LUCAN *DE BELLO CIVILI* BOOK I

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Lucan
De Bello Ciuili
Book I

Edited With A Commentary By
PAUL ROCHE

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For Clare

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Preface

Commentaries are a bit like a well-known formulation of epic, in that they strive for totality and completion and yet they are driven obsessively to repetition and reworking.¹ Now that this edition is once again finished and, like Coleman, I finally feel qualified to begin, I hope it has been able to stay true to its original goals of respectfully preserving what is good, of reworking, correcting, or extending what seems now less relevant in Getty's 1940 commentary, and that it has still been able to come away with something of its own identity intact.

This work has profoundly benefited from the generous support of many people, and it is a pleasure to express my thanks to them here. William Dominik has been involved with this project since its inception; he has been in turn a great supervisor, employer, mentor, and friend. John Garthwaite, Marcus Wilson, Peter Davis, and the anonymous reader for OUP all read complete versions of this commentary and have substantially improved it. Four scholars whose work has been so inspiring to me, John Henderson, Elaine Fantham, Stephen Harrison, and Matthew Leigh, each read and generously provided detailed comments on my work. Hardly a page of what follows hasn't been improved by their acute learning and encouragement. With all of this extraordinary help, I can only hope that I have taken advantage of more opportunities than I have missed.

At OUP I would like to thank Hilary O'Shea, who has been extremely supportive of this work, as well as Jenny Wagstaffe, Dorothy McCarthy, and Kathleen Fearn for all of their help. I am very grateful to Ian McAuslan for his careful copy-editing, which both saved the manuscript from a number of errors and improved its clarity throughout. I would like also to thank Robin Hankey for his edition of Housman's *Lucan* and his wonderful example of academic

¹ Hardie (1993) 1.

and human integrity, and Charles Tesoriero, who first talked to me about Lucan with characteristic verve nearly ten years ago.

Finally, this is for my lovely wife Clare, despite the fact that even I can see a commentary (on Lucan!) is a pretty unenviable pledge of love.

Sydney
February 2009

Paul Roche

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations not listed here comply with the following sources. For Latin works: Glare, P. (1982) ed. *The Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford; for Greek and modern works: Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A. (1996³) eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford. For modern periodicals: *L'Année philologique*.

Ahl	Ahl, F. M. (1976). <i>Lucan: An Introduction</i> . Ithaca.
ASL	Endt, J. (1969) ed. <i>Annotationes Super Lucanum</i> . Leipzig. Comments at same note.
BC	Lucan, <i>De Bello Ciuili</i> .
Bentley	Bentley, R. (1816). <i>Notes to Lucan</i> . Glasgow.
BMC 1	Mattingly, H. (1965). <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum 1: Augustus to Vitellius</i> . London. Catalogue numbers from coins issued under Nero.
Braund	Braund, S. H. (1992) tr. <i>Lucan: Civil War</i> . Oxford.
Comm. Bern.	Usener, H. (1869) ed. <i>M. Annaei Lucani Commenta Bernensia</i> . Leipzig. Comments at same note.
DNP	<i>Der Neue Pauly</i> .
Fantham	Fantham, E. (1992). <i>De Bello Ciuili Book II</i> . Cambridge.
Feeney	Feeney, D. C. (1991). <i>The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition</i> . Oxford.
Gagliardi	Gagliardi, D. (1989). <i>M. Annaei Lucani Belli Ciuilis Liber Primus</i> . Naples. Comments at same note.
Getty	Getty, R. J. (1940). <i>Lucan, De Bello Ciuili 1</i> . Cambridge. Comments at same note.
Haskins	Haskins, C. E. (1887). <i>M. Annaei Lucani Pharsalia</i> . London. Comments at same note.
Heitland	Introduction to Haskins, C. E. (1887). <i>M. Annaei Lucani Pharsalia</i> . London.
Housman	Housman, A. E. (1926). <i>M. Annaei Lucani Belli Ciuilis Libri Decem</i> . Oxford.

- Lebek Lebek, W. D. (1976). *Lucans Pharsalia: Dichtungsstruktur und Zeitbezug*. Göttingen.
- Leigh Leigh, M. (1997). *Lucan: Spectacle and Engagement*. Oxford.
- LHS Leumann, M., Hofmann, J. B., and Szantyr, A. (1965). *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*. München.
- Masters Masters, J. (1992). *Poetry and Civil War in Lucan's Bellum Ciuile*. Cambridge.
- NH Nisbet, R. G. M. and Hubbard, M. (1970). *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book 1*. Oxford; (1978). *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book 2*. Oxford.
- NLS Woodcock, E. C. (1959). *A New Latin Syntax*. London.
- NR Nisbet, R. G. M. and Rudd, N. (2004). *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book 3*. Oxford.
- Pichon Pichon, R. (1912). *Les Sources de Lucain*. Paris.
- SB Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (1997) ed. *Lucanus De Bello Ciuili*. Leipzig.
- WB Willeumier, P. and Le Bonniec, H. (1962). *M. Annaeus Lucanus Bellum Ciuile Liber Primus*. Paris. Comments at same note.

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Introduction

1. BOOK ONE AND *DE BELLO CIVILI*

(a) An end to allegory

Book one initiates Lucan's epic and impassioned meditation¹ upon the civil war waged between Caesar and Pompey in the years 49–45 BC. The text as we have it breaks off abruptly in 48 (10.546) and had probably only ever been going to treat events until the Battle of Thapsus in April 46 (see below §3). However, the significance of *BC*'s subject matter, like that of the *Iliad* and especially the *Aeneid*, transcends the actual historical and narrative limits of its plot. Lucan's epic, retold by a narrator locating himself explicitly in the principate of the emperor Nero (33–66) and repeatedly engaging with, or drawing attention to, the prevailing ideological conditions of his own time (e.g. 670–2, 3.168, 7.454–9, 639–46), is positioned in relation to the later Julio-Claudian emperors (especially, though not exclusively, Nero) in a manner akin to the Augustan epic of Vergil. It is a commonplace of criticism on the poem (but true nonetheless) that, while the *Aeneid* acts as a foundation story that looks forward with particular interest to Augustan Rome, Lucan effects a kind of 'fearful symmetry'² with his predecessor, and chooses instead the destruction of the republic as the organizing principle of his text. In doing so, he denies to the Augustan *telos* of the *Aeneid* the kind of closural force intimated in key passages of Vergil's narrative (e.g. at 1.254–96; 6.791–807; 8.675–728). This, of course, is not to divest the *Aeneid* of its own prominent debate regarding the totalizing potential

¹ Tarrant (1997) 65.

² To borrow a term from Blake's 'The Tiger'.

of its own closure in the Augustan dispensation (a hallmark of epic as a genre and a prominent strategy of Vergil's epic in particular).³ Nevertheless, Lucan amplifies many of the reservations already contained in the *Aeneid*, partly by looking back from a point in time a century after the end foretold in that text, when the apparent necessity of centralized administration had by now definitively given way to the capricious use of inherited autocratic power, and partly by the prominent strategy of reversing many of the thematic (and geographical) progressions of the Augustan narrative.

Lucan's self-conscious, creative imitation of the *Aeneid* was, in any case, an implicitly political act from its conception:

...imitation of Virgil reinforces engagement with contemporary politics inasmuch as the *Aeneid*, written in the very years in which Octavian/Augustus was grappling with the definition of the *princeps* and his power, helped both to crystallize and to problematize imperial ideology.⁴

Or, to put it another way, Lucan's politics were reinforced, and may have been predetermined, by his poetics.⁵ Or, to put it a third way, political debate is central to Augustan epic (and Augustan literature in general) because it was composed in and reflects a historical period in which a new ideology was undergoing gradual negotiation by the *princeps*, his peers, and his society; and the limitations of the powers of the emperor were in a fluid process of being defined.⁶ When later epics assume and foreground this dynamic of debate and negotiation, the political ramifications are more transparent because, by the beginning of the Julio-Claudian period, the historical fact of negotiation and the process of definition had been largely resolved in favour of the emperor.⁷ The narratives of imperial epic are no longer set against the backdrop of

³ Hardie (1993a) 1–19 esp. 1–3, 11–14.

⁴ Hardie (1993a) xi.

⁵ Masters (1994) 156.

⁶ Wallace-Hadrill (1982) 32–48; Feeney (1992) 1–9 esp. 1–4: 'What we are dealing with, then, is not straightforward repression or straightforward tolerance, but, as always, a developing and shifting relationship, without any precedents, where all the parties involved are feeling their way; habits and patterns of behaviour firm up as time goes on, of course, but it remains an essentially provisional and improvisatory atmosphere' (9); Galinsky (1996) 3–9.

⁷ Cf. Morford (1985) 2005: 'However loyal in deeds an author was, his words were dangerous if they questioned issues long since considered settled by the establishment of the Augustan principate', citing the fate of Cremutius Cordus.

a contemporary political or social dynamic, but an entrenched, hereditary system. The element of weighing up the dominant ideology of the day inherent in imperial epic is self-consciously anachronistic. Its debate underscores the absence of any alternative outcome other than the imperial system and the endless sequence of emperors. It is the very lateness of imperial epic which invests its subject matter with political currency.

The choice to undertake a poem on the civil war of 49–45, to position it openly in relation to the *Aeneid*, and to foreground the same aetiological concerns with the origin of its own contemporary ideology, is itself a potentially critical response to the principate. Epic poems on the civil wars had certainly been composed prior to BC. Sextilius Ena wrote a poem on the proscriptions of 43, which he recited at the house of M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (Sen. *Suas.* 6.27). C. Rabirius wrote on the fall of Antony (Sen. *Ben.* 6.3.1; Quint. 10.1.89). Cornelius Severus, following in the footsteps of Augustus himself (Suet. *Aug.* 85.2), treated the Sicilian War of 38–36 in book one of an epic poem (Quint. 10.1.89) and—if it is not to be dated later—may also have authored the *Carmen de Bello Aegyptiaco* (*P Herc.* 817: his authorship is uncertain, some suggest Rabirius), which treated Octavian's Egyptian campaign.⁸ Significantly, all of the above were either recited privately or treated themes amenable to Augustus' own version of events, such as the notion that the civil war between himself and Antony was a foreign campaign, or that the Sicilian War was a triumph over a degenerate *hostis*, such as Sextus Pompeius.⁹ Equally significant is the Augustan date of these authors. The radically different tone of imperial literature at Rome in the period after Augustus' death (indeed after AD 8) might more usefully be gauged by the later books of Velleius Paterculus (e.g. 2.59–131) or by the proem of Valerius Maximus (1 *pr.* 1) or, more appositely, by the near silence in the poetic genres that is the literary legacy of the principates of Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius.¹⁰

⁸ On these shadowy figures: Dickson (1935) 278–86; Schanz-Hosius §318; Mayer (1982) 305.

⁹ See Fantham (1996) 159.

¹⁰ Emperors 'more interested in stifling dissent than encouraging poetic panegyric or poetry at all', Ahl (1984) 61. For an overview of the literary climate of the period, see Mayer (1982) 305–10; Morford (1985) 2004–8; Fantham (1996) 126–52; the fates of Ovid (AD 8), Cassius Severus (AD 12), and Cremutius Cordus (AD 25) cast a long shadow over the period.

Lucan's subject matter, the destruction of the republic and the aetiology of the imperial system, stands in high contrast to the output of the previous two generations. It marks a dramatic return to immediate political relevance from the innocuous and the mythological subject matter of his predecessors. This is not to deny political engagement with the principate to the authors of the intervening period, but Lucan categorically emancipates Latin poetry from the veil of political allegory. The bluntness and the insistence of his subject matter highlight its revival.

(b) Lucan and the principate: books four to seven

Few would disagree that the poem is highly critical of the system of the principate, particularly in book seven, but this position is in evidence throughout the narrative. We shall first survey books four to ten, those generally considered to have been published later, and then consider books one to three. The general tendencies of the narrator are to cast his present political system as a condition of tyranny or monarchy or servitude, and to underscore explicitly that there is no end to this state. Crucial to this conception of empire is that Pharsalus and the civil war of which it was the military climax was the origin of the principate. At 4.575–81 suicide is better than tyranny. At 4.692 Curio first made Rome a tyranny. At 4.808 how happy would Rome be if liberty had been preserved by the gods! At 5.111–20 (esp. 113 f.) Delphi has fallen silent because kings fear knowledge of future events. At 5.385 f. Rome first learned to lie to *domini* when Caesar entered Rome. At 6.262 Scaeva's bravery merely brought a *dominus*. At 6.301 f. Rome could have been *felix ac libera regum*.

In book seven the narrator makes explicit the contemporary relevance and political importance of Pharsalus. At 7.131–3 Pharsalus decided what Rome would be forever. At 7.207–13 all future time will read Lucan's account of Pharsalus and support Pompey. At 7.385 f. fear of tyranny impels Pompey's forces, hope of tyranny impels Caesar's. Lines 7.385–459 are among the most densely packed and explicit statements of political orientation in the poem. The achievement and the damage caused at Pharsalus was irreparable forever (387–9). It will crush future generations (389 f.). It will cause the destruction of Italy

(391–411; cf. 1.24–9). Rome forsook *bella habitura triumphos* at Pharsalus (419–36; cf. 1.12). Freedom fled, never to return, after Pharsalus (433–6). It is asked bitterly why the Roman people were ever granted a period of freedom (in the republic after the initial period of kings) if it was to be robbed from them forever by the outcome of civil war (437–43). The imperial period is described as one of slavery and shame for Romans (444–5). This bleak appraisal of the ideology of his own day is also expounded in regard to the deification of dictators and emperors, such as Caesar, Augustus, and Claudius. The narrator declares at 7.455–9 that there are no gods whatsoever if they allowed Pharsalus to take place, and if they did allow this, Rome has its vengeance upon them by deifying emperors (*cladis tamen huius habemus | uindictam, quantam terris dare numina fas est: | bella pares superis facient ciuilia diuos, | fulminibus manes radiisque ornabit et astris | inque deum templis iurabit Roma per umbras*). At 7.634 Rome died at Pharsalus. At 7.640 Romans are cast down into a condition of slavery forever. At 7.695 f. the eternal antitheses are (the) Caesar(s) and *libertas*.

Book seven offers the most open and extreme expression of a view consistently expounded throughout the poem, but it does not end statements critical of the environment that produced *BC*. At 8.673, decapitation was not yet (*nondum*) an art. At 8.835 Rome deified a tyrant in Julius Caesar. At 10.25–8, the narrator states that if liberty existed in the world, Alexander would be a *ludibrium*: a *non utile exemplum* that the whole world could be under the control of one man.

(c) Lucan's consistency: books one to three

Some scholars have argued that the ideological inclinations espoused by the narrator change from book four onwards. This reading draws partly upon historical and political reconstructions of the author's life. The early friendship of the emperor and Lucan is invoked to account for a positive interpretation of the principate or Nero or both early in the poem, while the dissident polemic informing the rest of the poem is explained by his falling out with the emperor and his subsequent participation in the Pisonian conspiracy. The impetus for this argument has been to account for the invocation of Nero at

33–66. This was the approach adopted, for example, by Fantham to reconcile the panegyric of the emperor with the poem's later invective against the principate:

[it] must have become a moral embarrassment to its author in later years. . . . But . . . in AD 60, the twenty-two-year-old Nero had not yet the marks of vice written on his features. No doubt Lucan was initially dazzled. . . . A free man could have made attempts to suppress the dedication when he grew disillusioned; but the ban on Lucan's poetry was also a ban on revision in the form of a 'second edition'; and Lucan was not even free to disown his own praise.¹¹

Attendant upon this reading is the evidence provided in the ancient biographies of Lucan, that three books (most naturally assume one to three) were published at an early stage by a young(er) Lucan (Vacca 43–7). This notion is then the basis for the assumption that books one to three contain material which is reflective of this enthusiasm for Nero (or the principate, or both). After his falling out with Nero, the argument proceeds, his position vis-à-vis the principate as reflected in *De Bello Ciuili* underwent a radical change, and books four to ten were written in a state of increasingly open hostility towards the imperial system.

A fundamental problem with this approach is that a significant body of evidence complicating a pro-imperial reading is found in the first three books. These are the books that are usually interpreted by readers informed by biographical reconstructions as being in favour of the ideology of the principate. The devastation of Italy at 24–32 is clearly described as a contemporary fact (*at nunc, pendent, iacent, tenentur, errat, horrida . . . | Hesperia est, desunt manus*): the system of the principate has not been endowed with the capacity to regenerate the youth of Italy (32). So far from endorsing the establishment of the imperial system, the first three books insist on *in commune nefas* (6). This is borne out in the equally damning introduction of Pompey and Caesar (120–57), and in the astrology of Nigidius Figulus (642–72 esp. 670).¹² It is also evident in the anonymous condemning of both sides in comparison with Marius and Sulla (2.227–32) and in

¹¹ I quote Fantham 13 f. here not to impeach the quality of her excellent commentary but for the clarity of her exposition of this approach; cf. also Momigliano (1944) 96–100; Mayer (1982) 311 f.

¹² See e.g. Rosner-Siegel (1983) 165–77; Johnson (1987) 73–8; Sklenář (2003) 101–6.

the pronouncements of Cato on the moral vacuum of the war (2.284–325). There are political implications in beginning the narrative of the poem with Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon in defiance of the image of *patria* rather than with e.g. scenes from the senate that might paint the invasion as foisted upon Caesar, as in Caesar's own commentaries on the civil war. In Caesar's prayer at 195–203, he anachronistically invokes the tutelary gods of Julio-Claudian Rome (195 n.).¹³ In this he prefigures the political, ideological, and religious conditions that his victory will bring about.

In the characterization of Caesar, as the originator of empire, there is nothing in books one to three to suggest that the poem's mood changes radically from book four. The same basic picture found in book seven is prefigured in the bloodthirstiness of his Italian invasion (2.439–46), the suicidal nuances within his introductory thunderbolt simile and in the simile of the lion (151–7, 205–12), and in the astonishing oath of his centurion Laelius to kill his own father, brother, and pregnant wife (374–8). An explicitly critical perspective on the imperial system offers itself in Caesar's first entry into Rome in book three. Here (as in book seven) freedom is posited as the antithesis of Caesar (3.112–14, 137–40, 145–7). Caesar's presence makes a mockery of the republican organs of government and the narrator laments the self-degradation of the city (3.108–12). Here his plundering of the Temple of Saturn results in the observation that *pauperiorque fuit tum primum Caesare Roma* (3.168).

In sum, there is a stronger case to be made for Lucan's consistency throughout *BC*. Nothing in books one to three reaches the same fever pitch of the invective against empire in book seven, but it is in the nature of a climax, such as Pharsalus, that more emphatic statements of thematic preoccupations come to the fore.

(d) The invocation of Nero and the portrayal of Domitius

An argument for a consistent hostility to the imperial system must confront two objections, the invocation of Nero and the portrayal of the republican L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the great-great-grandfather of the emperor Nero.

¹³ Feeney 292–4.

Scholarly response to the invocation of the emperor has been divided into two basic approaches with various nuances attending each. Since antiquity, parts of 33–66 have been understood as satirizing the emperor, since details in 55–8 were read as alluding to his squint and obesity (*Comm. Bern.* ad loc.).¹⁴ Those who believe the invocation and panegyric at 33–66 are sincere reject the details at 55–8 as not corresponding in precise detail with extant biographical information regarding Nero.¹⁵ The extravagance of the content in 33–66 has in the past been cited as suggesting satire.¹⁶ This now seems a less reliable avenue of approach in light of Dewar's response to satirical readings of the proem, in which he usefully explores the inherently extravagant conventions of panegyric in the ancient world.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the apostrophe to Nero has been read as consistent with the rest of the poem's response to the principate on a number of counts. The allusion to the chariot of Phaethon at 47–50 has been read as invoking Ovid's account of Phaethon at *Met.* 2.31–328, in which the earth is made to undergo a kind of conflagration (cf. 72–80) because of the inexpert handling of the charioteer.¹⁸ In the analogy between Jupiter and Nero a condition of slavery is explicit: 35 *caelumque suo seruire Tonanti*; the analogy is made plain by Figulus at 670 *cum domino pax ista uenit*.¹⁹ At 33–45, the statement that *scelera ipsa nefasque | hac mercede placent* is immediately tested by a catalogue of civil war battles under Caesar and Augustus. The credibility of this statement is immediately tested as Nero is weighed in the balance against the deaths incurred at Pharsalus, Thapsus, Munda, Perusia, Forum Gallorum, Actium, and Naulochus. Leigh is concise:

... there would be nothing more flattering than sincerely to imply that Nero was worth the price paid, but it remains the case that the rest of the poem is studded with allusions to the destruction of Italy and is markedly free from

¹⁴ On Nero's physicality: Grimal (1960); Ahl 47–9; Brena (1988) 134 f.

¹⁵ Dewar (1994) 200: not a squint, but dimness of sight; not obesity but a 'protruding stomach'. An excellent article, but one wonders whether the distinction between obesity and a protruding stomach would be preserved in a satirical reference.

¹⁶ See e.g. Marti (1945) 374.

¹⁷ See esp. Dewar (1994) *passim*; at 209 'the more we seek to establish the limits of the sayable in Latin panegyric writing, the further they seem to stretch'.

¹⁸ Hinds (1987) 28 f.

¹⁹ Leigh 25 f.

attestations of the nation's rebirth under Nero. While the loss is ever visible, the profit is not there to be found.²⁰

At 45–62, the apotheosis of the emperor is the most conventional aspect of the panegyric (cf. esp. Verg. *G.* 1.24–42).²¹ But the conventionality of Lucan's language in the panegyric is not the pertinent issue. Rather, it is its removal from a different genre and context and its insertion into a narrative that explicitly contradicts its content. The invocation is in a radically different mode from the epic announced at 1–32. It raises questions of propriety of genre, made more urgent by the cataclysmic subject matter which Nero is said by Lucan to inspire.²² This claim (at 63–6 *sed mihi iam numen; nec, si te pectore uates | accipio, Cirrhaea uelim secreta mouentem | sollicitare deum Bacchumque auertere Nysa: | tu satis ad uires Romana in carmina dandas*), divorced from the context of the narrative, is ostensible flattery. But the subject matter of the poem compels the conclusion that the reverse is true. Nero inspires a poem tracing the permanent enslavement of a free people and the destruction of the republic.²³ Lucan enabled himself to compose his grim aetiology of autocracy by dwelling upon the emperor Nero.²⁴

Braund contends that 'those who argue that Lucan sought to denigrate Nero through a hostile portrayal of Julius Caesar must explain his decidedly positive treatment of Domitius'.²⁵ But there are a number of reasons why the positive aspects of Domitius' portrayal at 2.478–525 and in book seven would not necessarily have been flattering to Nero, and there are a number of aspects of Domitius' portrayal which are not necessarily flattering to Domitius. To posit Nero's ancestor as a staunch opponent of the founder of the political system under which Nero came to power is no panegyric. Lucan has split the adoptive and biological lines of Nero's family into two warring factions: his blood ancestor fights to his death trying to prevent the victory of the legal premise of Nero's assumption of power. At Pharsalus Domitius' death is given singular prominence.²⁶

²⁰ Leigh 25.

²¹ Jenkinson (1974) 8 tabulates the correspondences (45–62 nn.).

²² Tarrant (1997) 67.

²³ Ahl 48.

²⁴ Feeney 276, 300 f.

²⁵ Braund xv–xvi.

²⁶ See e.g. Lounsbury (1975); Ahl 49–51; Masters (1994).

It is the only patrician death recorded in a battle where at 7.597 f. it is claimed that *hic patriae perit omne decus: iacet aggere magno | patricium campis non mixta plebe cadaver*. As such, of course, it is imbued with all the ornaments of the epic register (cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 16.818–61, 22.247–366). But there was in fact a notable absence of patrician deaths at Pharsalus. The battle that forms the thematic climax of the poem as we have it provides a paucity of aristocratic names perishing in the face of Caesar's drive to autocracy. Lucan is, therefore, constrained to work with what he had: the death of Domitius, the only named and noble fatality recorded in the historical sources for the battle (cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.71; Caes. *Civ.* 3.99; App. *B Civ.* 2.82).²⁷ When we turn to the substance of Domitius' death at 7.597–616, we are by no means compelled to read this presentation as a simple encomium.²⁸ And if we do invest the scene with a sincere representation of Ahenobarbus, the notion of the decline of generations subsequent to Pharsalus articulated at e.g. 7.389–459 still hangs Nero in the balance and finds him wanting.

2. STRUCTURE AND NARRATIVE IN BOOK ONE

Book one divides into three broad panels of narrative. Initiating the overall epic is an introductory sequence in which the formal requirements of the genre are met. Here are the proem and invocation (1–66; as at e.g. Verg. *A.* 1.1–11), along with events and circumstances required by the audience to understand the launching of the narrative *in medias res* (67–182; as at e.g. Verg. *A.* 1.12–33), in this case the causes of the outbreak of the war. The narrative proper of book one covers events to approximately 17 January 49 in which two large sections narrate Caesar's invasion of Italy and capture of Ariminum, and the reaction at Rome to the news of this invasion. A synopsis of this tripartite scheme looks as follows.

1. The introduction to the poem (1–182)
 - (i) proem (1–7)

²⁷ Ahl 49–51.

²⁸ Cf. the exploration of the scene by Masters (1994) 163–8.

- (ii) apostrophe to Rome (8–32)
- (iii) invocation of Nero (33–66)
- (iv) causes of the war (i): fate and the triumvirate (67–97)
- (v) causes of the war (ii): deaths of Crassus and Julia (98–120)
- (vi) causes of the war (iii): Caesar and Pompey (120–57)
- (vii) causes of the war (iv): moral decline (158–82)
- 2. Caesar's invasion of Italy (183–465)
 - (i) Caesar at the Rubicon (183–227)
 - (ii) Caesar takes Ariminum (228–65)
 - (iii) speech of Curio (266–95)
 - (iv) speech of Caesar (296–351)
 - (v) speech of Laelius (352–91)
 - (vi) catalogue of Gallic tribes (392–465)
- 3. The reaction at Rome (466–695)
 - (i) evacuation of Rome (466–522)
 - (ii) prodigies (522–83)
 - (iii) attempted purification of the city (584–638)
 - (iv) astrology of Figulus (639–72)
 - (v) vision of the *matrona* (673–95)

The subject matter of book one is therefore restricted, but its treatment is expansive and digressive. Only eight days of the civil war itself are covered in book one and the action of the narrative clusters around two approximate dates within even this restricted time frame, 10–11 January (183–465) and 17 January (466–695) respectively. These precise dates are reliable, but they have to be inferred or approximated on the basis of historical accounts and reconstructions of the opening sequence of war.²⁹ Few indications of the progression of time are given in book one or elsewhere in the epic. At 261 dawn breaks as Caesar takes Ariminum. At 467 f. Caesar's invasion of various northern towns may (or may not) imply a period of some days. At 520 the narrator declares that Rome was not protected for one night following news of Caesar's invasion (and therefore the evacuation of 486–522 constitutes the action of a single day). At 526–83 the account of the prodigies of war clearly implies a period of days and nights.

²⁹ For the dates: Housman 325 f.; Gelzer (1968) 192 n. 3 with references.

Despite these self-imposed limitations upon the subject matter of book one, the narrative is paradoxically expansive, because of a number of strategies employed in the presentation of this material. Lucan advances the plot of his epic sparingly. He rarely narrates uninterrupted sequences of continuous action, but instead will frequently pause after (often brief and simply expressed) indications of plot developments. These pauses are often lengthy and very frequently longer than the actual plot developments to which they react. In broad terms, their function is to represent or reconsider the action they follow, but they often involve independent developments and digressions from the plot proper. Typically they comprise similes, allegories, or analogies based upon the plot material (as at 205–12, 260 f., 293–5, 389–91, 493–8, 498–504, 674 f.); ekphrases, or ‘plot-static’ descriptions (as at 213–19, 270–2, 356–8, 585–8, 618–29, 639–41); they will effect changes in focalization (as at 233–46, 469–86), or in the delivery of the material (e.g. from third-person narrative to direct or indirect speech in the person of characters within the epic, as at 247–59, 273–95, 299–351, 359–86, 589–95, 630–8, 642–72, 678–94); they will constitute apostrophes or interjections from the narrator himself (as at 510–22, 673 f.); or they will catalogue the individual elements within a collective entity (as at 396–465, 526–83, 596–604). In each of these, Lucan introduces nothing that is not already an established generic component of epic poetry, but the frequency of his use of these elements and their disproportion to the narrative proper in *BC* set him apart.

The effect of this proportion can be observed on every page of the epic, but consider (for the sake of a self-contained example) lines 466–522, which treat the evacuation of Rome on news of Caesar’s invasion. At 466–8, the motivation for Caesar’s incursion and his occupation of northern Italy is recounted in three lines, the invasion itself in just over one (467 f. *per omnem | spargitur Italiam uicinaque moenia conplet*). But lines 469–86 immediately shift the focus to Rome, and expansively recount various rumours regarding Caesar’s actions and plans in seventeen and a half lines. At 486–93, the reader is told that the senate and people are abandoning the capital, but at 493–8 this narrative is interrupted to introduce an analogy between the cause of the evacuation and a fire raging throughout the city. This analogy is then compounded at 498–504 by a simile of a shipwreck at sea. A scene of mass evacuation resumes the narrative at 504–9, itself

dwarfed at 510–22 by twelve and a half lines in which the narrator apostrophizes the gods and the city of Rome: at 510 f. a *sententia* is presented and illustrated by a summary of lines 504–9; at 511–14, a pointed juxtaposition is effected between the easy sleep of frontier troops and the immediate evacuation of Rome by its citizens; finally, at 521 f., an index of relative culpability is established for this mass evacuation in light of Pompey's own escape from Rome. And so, in a passage of 56.5 lines, only 18.5 (about a third of the total) advance the plot. This proportion is typical of Lucan's overall narrative technique.

Of course (as in the revelation of Pompey's flight at 522) this non-narrative material can also advance the elements of the plot or introduce independent factors of consequence to the interpretation of the poem both in *BC* and in other epic poetry.³⁰ In the case of *BC*, it is more typical of these interruptions to introduce a rich layer of thematic, atmospheric, or ideological material while retarding the actual progression of the plot proper, the civil war. Certainly, Lucan's tendency to delay the progress of his main protagonist, Caesar, is everywhere in evidence in book one.³¹ From 183–695 fewer than 43 lines actually describe any action of Caesar's. At 183–205 he meets *patria* and crosses the Rubicon. At 220–32 his crossing of the Rubicon is retold a second time and he takes Ariminum. At 392–5 he summons his forces from Gaul. At 466–8 he invades the towns of northern Italy. This is the sum total of his narrated actions in the first book. In addition to this, at 469 Lucan interrupts his account of Caesar's progress to insert a 664-line hiatus treating events at Rome; not until 2.439 does the narrative of his invasion resume. The only other actions strictly relevant to the advancement of the plot in book one are described at 486–93: the senate and population of Rome evacuate the city.

By contrast, book one generously allocates direct speech to its characters. From 183–695, ten speeches totalling 176 lines are put into the mouths of characters (65 of these belong to Caesar in three

³⁰ Lyne (1989) 63–99. Another example is 483 f.—strictly inconsequential to the development of the story—but a connection is suggested between Caesar looking on as Rome is besieged and Sulla looking on over the executions at Praeneste at 2.207 f., and this is an important nuance within one of the poem's overall themes, the endless repetition of civil war at Rome.

³¹ Masters, esp. 1–10.

speeches). The structural centre of the book is the exchange of speeches at Ariminum 266–91, the absolute centre of which comprises Caesar's address to the troops at 296–351. The two other great narrative *morae* of the book are thematically charged: the catalogue of Gallic tribes at 392–465 (bridging the scenes at Ariminum on 11 January and those at Rome in the days around 17 January) and the description of the supernatural occurrences in the capital at 522–695.

Even within the framework of lines 183–695, a number of parallels, motifs, and themes provide balance between the structural divisions of book one's narrative. The account of the capture of Ariminum is particularly resonant throughout *BC* (see below §3); in the context of book one, the collective response of the people of Ariminum at 239–46, wherein focalization shifts from Caesar as causative agent in the action to the victims of his aggression, anticipates the larger response of the population of Rome at 466–522. So too, the catalogue of Gallic tribes at 396–465 re-echoes throughout book one in smaller catalogues of prodigies at 526–83, priests at 596–604, and, less patently, in the description of sacrificial entrails at 618–29. At the centre of the book, the three speeches of Curio, Caesar, and Laelius at 266–391 reciprocate each other in a complex pattern of rhetoric, themes, and motifs as much as they establish the paradigm in *BC* for similar exchanges involving the other main protagonists of the war in books two and seven (see below §3). At 522–695, a supernatural climax to the first book is achieved through the successive and ominous progression of prodigies (522–83), divination (584–638), astrology (639–72), and prophecy (673–95).

3. CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER BOOKS

The content of book one naturally resonates throughout the rest of the poem. Particularly close relationships exist between book one and books two and seven. These connections are obviously relevant to the overall structure of the work, and in the case of one and seven, provide textual evidence to support the notion that the *BC* was planned as a twelve-book epic.

(a) Book two

Fantham 23–6 discusses some of the reciprocal material in books one and two. The following adopts and extends her survey. As mentioned above, Caesar's invasion is interrupted at 469 to be resumed at 2.439. In the intervening 664 lines, Lucan establishes a bridge obscuring the division of the first two books (in effect, a massive extension of the Vergilian device at A. 7.1–7 and Ov. *Met.* 13.623–14.582).³² Reinforcing this bridging passage is a dense sequence of allusions and parallels in 2.1–468 to themes established in book one, especially 469–695. The opening of book two looks back in theme and vocabulary to the concerns of the astrologer Figulus at 642–5, especially in the debate regarding chance and predetermination expressed at 2.7–12, and to the beginning of this bridging sequence at 522–4 *nequa futuri | spes saltem trepidas mentes leuet* (cf. 2.14 f. *sit caeca futuri | mens hominum fati; liceat sperare timentī*). So too, the magistrates hiding at Rome (2.16–21) reprise the evacuation of the senate and their assignation of the declaration of war to the consuls (486–9). At the same time, the motif of silent grief (2.20–8) with its elaborate funeral simile has been foreshadowed in the voiceless grief of the people of Ariminum (246 f.). The grief of the *matronae* at 2.28–42 clearly revisits and expands the prophecy of book one's single *matrona* (674–95). In the same passage the notion that the *matronae* are free to weep while the war is unresolved is a concrete illustration of Figulus' paradox at 672 that Rome is only free in civil war. It is also a prediction for Rome of the reality already experienced by the people of Ariminum in their silent grief at 246–61. The next scene in book two, the complaint of the *uiri* and their prayer for foreign enemies (2.43–64), alludes to a nexus of book one motifs including the interior monologue of the people of Ariminum (248–57); the proem (2.45 f., cf. 1.30–2; 2.48–56, cf. 1.13–23; 2.56 f., cf. 1.72–80); the prodigies at Rome (2.56 f., cf. 1.614–45); and the extispicy of Arruns (2.56 f., cf. 1.530–5). The recollection of the civil war between Marius and Sulla (2.64–233) provides the densest and most explicit sequence of allusions to book one. The whole passage is anticipated by the resurrection of *Sullani manes* and Marius at 580–3. The facts of

³² For Ovid's response to Vergil, see Hinds (1998) 107–11 esp. 109.

Marius' capture of Rome and the proscriptions at 2.98–151 historically prefigure the prediction that Caesar will besiege the city (2.99 f., cf. 1.483 f.), the evacuation of Rome (2.98–102 f., cf. 1.486–522), and Laelius' claim at 373 f. that Caesar's discretion will decide citizen from enemy. The betrayal of family members amid the proscriptions (2.148–51) merely provides concrete demonstration of Laelius' oath (1.148–51). Citizens hiding in sepulchres and the lairs of wild animals (2.152 f.) re-enact an inversion of the prodigies of war (1.559–60, 568). In the Sullan half of the monologue, the executions at 2.187 f. and 199 are recast in the language of architectural ruination established in the proem (1.5, cf. 1.81). The executions at Praeneste begin to explain the desolation of Italy at 1.24–9; and like Marius, Sulla at 2.208, *spectator sceleris*, prefigures Caesar, the *Romanus spectans* rumoured at 1.484.

The exchange of speeches between Brutus and Cato (2.234–325) regarding the latter's participation in the civil war provides a moral and ethical counterpart to the realpolitik of Curio, Caesar, and Laelius at Ariminum (266–391); more specific allusions are also at work here: Cato at 2.287 *sed quo fata trahunt uirtus secura sequetur* is the antithesis of Caesar at 1.146 f. *quo spes quoque ira uocasset, | ferre manum*; Cato also reprises much of the imagery of cosmic dissolution from 1.72–80 at 2.289–92. Likewise, Cato's character at 2.380–91 is an obvious counterpoint to the programmatic introductions of Caesar and Pompey at 129–57. Last in the bridging sequence, at 2.392 f. Pompey leaves Rome to occupy Campania, as he had done at 1.522.

At 2.439 the narrative of Caesar's invasion is resumed, much of it specifically prefigured throughout book one. Lines 2.439–46 clearly expand and illustrate the general tendencies at 1.146–50. Ariminum provides the blueprint for the behaviour of other cities in Italy, this time in their immediate capitulation to Caesar (esp. 2.462–77). At 478–504, Caesar delayed at the Aternus (2.478–504 esp. 494–9) is a reprise of Caesar delayed at the Rubicon (183–232). In Pompey's failure to inspire his troops (2.526–609) we have a second, more explicit echo in book two of the Caesarian speeches at Ariminum (266–391 esp. Caesar at 299–351). The reaction of each general's troops is paralleled (2.596–600, cf. 1.352–6): both generals are met with apathy from their troops, in Caesar's case all the more surprisingly since he

argues that he is working for their own benefit; Laelius' immediate impact and the enthusiasm of the troops (386–91) is then contrasted with unmistakable point. The final stages of book two maintain this close relationship with book one. Pompey's flight from Brundisium (2.680–736) extends our first glimpse of his flight at 1.522 and its reprisal at 2.392 f. (esp. 2.687 f.), while the spectacular success of his campaign to eradicate piracy throughout the Mediterranean (1.121 f.) provides pointed antithesis for his escape over sea at 2.725–7.

(b) Book seven

Book one also enjoys a particularly strong thematic and structural relationship with book seven. In broad terms, book seven forms the climax of the narrative that was initiated at 183 and announced in the first line of the proem (1 *Bella per Emathios... campos*). The pattern of allusion throughout seven back to one is consistent and pervasive. At 7.1–6, the sunrise over Thessaly replays the 'first day of evil' at Ariminum: at the war's outset and at its climax, the sun is reluctant to shine (cf. 1.231–5). The dream of Pompey at 7.7–44 revisits themes, imagery, and vocabulary established in his programmatic introduction at 131–3. The narrator's interjection at 7.30–2 includes motifs drawn from his evacuation of Rome at 519–22, especially the contrast of the 'one night' not entrusted to the city's protection in book one and the single day not granted by the gods to Pompey and Rome in book seven. The paired speeches of Cicero and Pompey at 7.45–150 reprise a theme initiated at Ariminum in the exchange of speeches between Curio, Caesar, and Laelius at 266–391 (and reprised at 2.234–325, 2.526–609). Details reinforce the connection with book one. Magnus' impassioned and specific outburst at 7.95 *quis furor, o caeci, scelerum?* openly revisits 8 *quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri?*, while the shipwreck simile applied to the citizens evacuating Rome with Pompey at 498–504 is adapted and applied to Pompey's troops at 7.123–7, only now the focus is appropriately upon the helmsman's lack of control rather than the self-destructive instincts of the sailors. Further evidence of the parallel relationship between books seven and one occurs in the catalogue of prodigies before Pharsalus (7.151–213) which reprises the catalogue of prodigies at

the outset of the war at 522–83 (esp. 7.165–7, cf. 1.608–15; 7.182, cf. 1.376–8; 7.195, cf. 1.233 f.).

At 7.245–8, when Caesar finally sees his opportunity to close battle with Magnus at Pharsalus, he significantly hesitates of his own accord for only the third time in *BC*: the other two instances are in books one and two (183–205 at the Rubicon, 2.478–504 at the Aternus). At 7.235–336 Caesar addresses his troops before Pharsalus in terms which recall his speech to the legions at 299–351. Throughout this speech he revisits some of the scenes and motifs of book one: at 7.255 he reminds the reader of the epic's opening scene at the Rubicon; at 7.260 he declares *haec acies uictum factura nocentem est*, which effectively restates and explains his own formulation at 203 *ille erit ille nocens, qui me tibi fecerit hostem*; at 7.261–9 in particular, prominent rhetorical motifs from Caesar's speech at Ariminum are adapted and redeployed (cf. esp. 340–5). In turn, Pompey addresses his own troops before Pharsalus and in doing so revisits the paradigms of early republican *mores* established in Lucan's causes of the war (7.358–60, cf. 1.167–70).

At 7.385–459 and 638–46, the present-day implications of the battle are explored by the narrator, as were the implications of the whole war at 24–66 (esp. 24–32) and 13–20 (further correspondences inhere: 7.445–7, cf. 1.33–66; 7.451, cf. 1.544, the only explicit appearances of Thyestes in the poem; 7.454 f., cf. 1.642–5 and 2.1–7). During the narrative of the Battle of Pharsalus itself this pattern of allusion to book one continues: 7.462–6, 550, and 617–46 all provide concrete illustration of the oath of Laelius at 376–8 and the programme announced at 4 *cognatasque acies*; 7.475 f. is the only other place in the poem where the instruments at Ariminum (236–8) sound together again; 7.488 *atque incerta facit quos uolt fortuna nocentes* reprises 203 (quoted above); 7.490 f. *odiis solus ciuilibus ensis | sufficit, et dextras Romana in uiscera ducit* revisits 2 f. *populumque potentem | in sua uictrici conuersum uiscera dextra*; 7.539 f. *aut, si Romano conpleri sanguine mauis, | istis parce precor* restates 38–40 *diros Pharsalia campos | inpleat et Poeni saturentur sanguine manes*. Pompey's flight from battle at 7.647–727 is prefigured in his flight from Rome (esp. 7.676, 689–91, cf. 1.522), so too in this passage are echoes of the programmatic introduction of the main protagonists (7.685–91, cf. 1.121) and the invocation of Nero (7.691–6, cf. 1.33–66). Caesar's capture of Pompey's camp at 7.728–60

(esp. 728 f.) restates themes found at 38–40. The dream of Caesar looks back to the prodigies at 1.526–83 as well as to Pompey's dream at 7.7–44. In Caesar's breakfast at Pharsalus at 7.786–824 esp. 799–801 the same foreign enemies are inadequate as *comparanda* for his behaviour as are named at 1.30–2. Finally, in his apostrophe to Thessaly at 7.847–72, the narrator echoes motifs and themes from the *matrona's* speech at 678–94.

This relationship has bearing upon the structure and scope of the overall poem. Although *BC* exhibits no 'proem in the middle' such as we observe at e.g. Verg. *A.* 7.37–45 and elsewhere, this prominent allusive relationship between books one and seven makes particular sense against the backdrop of a planned twelve-book epic, wherein the Battle of Pharsalus is treated at the centre of the epic, while the beginning of the war and the Battle of Thapsus provides the ultimate frame for the narrative in books one and twelve.

4. SOURCES AND MODELS FOR BOOK ONE

(a) Homer

The relationship of book one to the Homeric poems has until recently been underappreciated.³³ An exception to this tendency was Conte's argument for the structural links between the respective proems of the *Iliad* and *BC* (see introd. to 1–7).³⁴ Green's 1991 study has illuminated the pervasive structural and thematic influence exerted upon book one by the opening books of the *Iliad*.³⁵ Both poems situate their narratives in the tenth year of a conflict (*Il.* 2.134, 295; cf. *Luc.* 1.283, 299 f.; 2.568–70). The main protagonists find fitting Homeric paradigms. Pompey stands as a kind of Agamemnon: older, more experienced, more respected, more likely to direct battle than to participate in it (*Il.* 1.277–81; cf. *Luc.* 1.129–35, 3.287–9);

³³ Pichon 217 denied it altogether; Lebek 279–302 found only a handful of parallel passages in the first three books; Lausberg (1985) also explored a few examples from book one, such as 300.

³⁴ Conte (1966).

³⁵ Green (1991) esp. 232–43.

it was a connection that the historical dynast worked hard to cultivate.³⁶ Caesar has long been recognized as a kind of Achilles: outstanding in battle and driven by *μῆνις/ira* (*Il.* 1.1, 282–4; cf. *Luc.* 1.143–7, 359–62). Just as their characterization finds models in the *Iliad*, so too their quarrel is played out along structurally and thematically similar lines. Pompey sees Caesar as Agamemnon sees Achilles: enamoured of conflict, threatening, and ambitious (*Il.* 1.131 f., 177, 183–7, 287–91; cf. *Luc.* 2.562–7; cf. 1.150). Conversely, Caesar views Pompey as a kind of Agamemnon: arrogant, enervated, cowardly, and covetous (*Il.* 1.122, 203, 225–31; cf. *Luc.* 1.311 f., 314 f., 324 f., 333 f.; cf. also 1.288). The catalyst for the action of the epic is the potential loss of honour for the warrior, or its appropriation by the statesman (*Il.* 1.117–19; cf. *Luc.* 1.340, 316). The programmatic similes at 135–43 and 151–7 reinforce these essentially Homeric roles. In the confrontation between *patria* and Caesar (183–203) and in the speeches at Ariminum (266–391), echoes of Agamemnon’s dream (*Il.* 2.23 f.) and the *Diapira* (*Il.* 2.110–41) are to the fore, with Curio, Caesar, and Laelius refiguring Thersites, Agamemnon, and an inversion of Nestor, respectively. The catalogue has an obvious Iliadic heritage. In each case, Lucan discards many of the specific details contained in his Homeric models and transfers to his epic the broader themes of the *Iliad*, recast to reflect specifically Roman contexts.

(b) Vergil

Vergil is fundamentally important to Lucan’s project. Without the *Aeneid* and the *Georgics* (especially book one) the present form of the epic and the precise world view expressed therein would be either inconceivable or impossible to articulate. The *Aeneid* provides Lucan with the supreme poetic example of a foundation text of Augustan Rome (and, by implication, the principate) against which to situate his own poetic project. Lucan creates an individual identity for himself and his poem in the face of the infinite and potentially paralysing cultural and poetic inheritance generated by Vergil by

³⁶ On Pompey as the new Agamemnon see Champlin (2003) 295–305.

assuming a position of ideological opposition to the surface narrative of the *Aeneid*.³⁷ This opposition takes the form of an insistent demystification and ‘bitterly disillusioned re-writing of the Virgilian myth of Rome’s past and future’.³⁸ At the broadest level, this dynamic of confrontation is visible in the respective trajectories of the two poems. The *Aeneid* relates the movements of a leader and his companions from East to West, from capitulation to the foundation of a state. *BC* traces the flight of the collective authorities of that same state from West to East, from the established political order of the late republic to its destruction and its own capitulation in the face of autocratic rule and the eternal loss of liberty.³⁹ But it is important not to conceptualize this opposition as a simple or absolute inversion of the Vergilian material: Lucan recast and reshapes Vergil—as he does all of his poetic models—to his particular needs (see below and e.g. 84–6 n., 366 n.).

The influence of Vergil is everywhere in evidence throughout book one, from the microcosm of individual elements and collocations within each hexameter line to the breathtaking cosmological and historical horizons claimed by Lucan for his subject matter. This ubiquity should clearly emerge from the following survey of the main points of engagement with Vergil in book one. Throughout, only the most prominent Vergilian passages are mentioned; in all cases the reader should further consult the notes in the commentary.

1. *Lines 1–182.* From the first sentence of the epic (1–7), Lucan confronts the *Aeneid*’s own introduction (A. 1.1–7) and replaces geographical linearity (1 *Troiae* ~ 7 *Roma*) and the promise of an ultimately successful resolution to the suffering of its protagonist (3–6 *multum ille et terris iactatus et alto | ui superum, saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram, | multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem | inferretque deos Latio*) with universal destruction and repetition of the consequences of civil war. Typical of Lucan’s sustained allusions to Vergil’s works is that this reply to the *Aeneid*’s opening

³⁷ For one version of Lucan’s poetic situation, see Bloom (1973).

³⁸ Tarrant (1997) 65.

³⁹ For this synopsis: Narducci (1979); Conte (1988) 38; Horsfall (1989); Hardie (1993a) 10–14 esp. 11 f.; Miles (1999); Rossi (2000) 571 f.

itself comprises language reworked from a number of different passages from the *Aeneid* and the *Georgics*. The end of *Georgics* book one (489–511) is recast at lines 1, 2, 4–5, and 7 (see nn. ad loc.):⁴⁰

ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
 Romanas acies iterum uidere Philippi;
 nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro
 Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.

 tot bella per orbem,
 tam multae scelerum facies,

 hinc mouet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum;
 uicinae ruptis inter se legibus urbes
 arma ferunt; saeuit toto Mars impius orbe

Likewise, language evoking themes and images from *Aeneid* 6 (832–5 cf. 1–7, 3, 7 n.), 7 (222–4; cf. 5 n), and 11 (313–22 cf. 3 n) are incorporated into the fabric of the first seven lines.⁴¹ Lucan rarely confines himself to one poetic model and this style of engagement is programmatic and insistent.

The first 66 lines of *BC* comprise a dense matrix of references to the *Georgics* and *Aeneid*. The narrator's impassioned question at 8 *quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri?* is structurally parallel to the similar questions effecting a transition from the respective proems of the *Aeneid* (1.8–11) and the *Iliad* (1.8). But line 8 does much more than locate *BC* within a specific type of epic poetry. The question itself is assembled from utterances by Vergil's Laocoon (*A.* 2.42), Ascanius (*A.* 5.670–2), and Eurydice (*G.* 4.495), and these immediately locate Lucan's epic within a specific type of crisis (civil war, the *Iliupersis*) and import a nexus of implications from its various Vergilian source passages. Outbursts at 13 and 21 recast Anchises' dread at the coming of Pompey and Caesar (*A.* 6.828 f.) and evoke Vergilian contexts of the sack of Troy (*A.* 2.10, 12.572 f.) and *katabasis* (6.133 f.). At 21–9, as the narrator reproaches Rome and describes the devastating human cost of the war and the unremedied destruction throughout Italy, he bookends and subverts

⁴⁰ For Lucan and the *Georgics* see Paratore (1943) 40–69.

⁴¹ Thompson and Bruère (1968) 1–4; von Albrecht (1999) 238 f.

key imagery of the divinely ordained historical destiny of Vergil's future state (A. 1.257–96 esp. 278 f.; 4.229–31; 6.771–6, 851–3; 8.347 f.), principally (but not exclusively) by contaminating these passages with material from Vergil's own classic civil war excursus in the *Georgics* (esp. 1.505–7). The invocation of Nero at 33–66 (see above §1(d)) is explicitly modelled upon the praise of Octavian at G. 1.24–42 and imports further nuances from various passages within the *Aeneid* (1.290–6 of Augustus; 3.395 Helenus' prophecy; 10.112 f. Jupiter's problematic declaration of impartiality).

Further and broader Vergilian dynamics are appropriated in the introduction of the main protagonists at 120–6. Lucan makes clear his own recasting of epic, and especially Vergilian, preoccupations with the drive towards the lonely supremacy of the epic hero; in Hardie's formulation, the 'maximizing' ambitions played out between Turnus and Aeneas in the final books of the *Aeneid* (where it will be decided who will be Achilles and who will be Hector) are brought to the fore in the introduction of Pompey and Caesar at 120–6 (and emphatically foreshadowed at 110 f.): *BC* advertises a 'collision of the maximizing hero and the totalizing historical stage'.⁴²

2. *Lines 183–465.* When the narrative proper begins, Lucan's epic draws its impetus from the absolute chronological start of Vergil's epic, the destruction of Troy in *Aeneid* 2. Lines 183–94 rework Aeneas' vision of Hector (A. 2.270–97), replayed now by Caesar and *patria* with consequences for each character and the reader's framing of Caesar's invasion (185–92 nn.). Further Vergilian prohibitions made by divinities to mortals also obtrude: Venus to Aeneas (A. 2.589–91); Creusa to Aeneas (2.772–4, 788); Apollo to Ascanius (9.640–52). In each context the disobedience of Caesar, in contrast to the prompt compliance of his ancestors, is damning. The leonine simile of Caesar at 205–12 looks primarily to Turnus in *Aeneid* 12 (4–8): 'Caesar at the outset of his epic plays Turnus at the end',⁴³ but a self-motivated, suicidal manifestation of Vergil's protagonist, who incarnates Vergil's image of *Furor* (A. 1.296). Once the Rubicon is crossed, Caesar is made ironically to invoke Vergil in his declaration at 224–7 as he abandons *foedera* claimed unbreakable at A. 12.202 f.,

⁴² See Hardie (1993a) 3–9 esp. 7.

⁴³ Hardie (1993a) 62.

as he contravenes the paradigm of excellence renounced by and rejected on behalf of Aeneas (A. 10.48, 12.435 f.), and as he quotes Turnus' resolve to enter battle (12.79).

3. *Lines 466–695.* Lucan's *Fama* at 466–72 is reprised from A. 4.173–97 and her more ominous appearance at 11.139–47. More explicitly, the evacuation of Rome at 466–98 is a bitterly ironic recasting of the defence of Troy in *Aeneid* 2, in which the city's immediate evacuation is pointedly contrasted with the efforts to defend Troy on her final night. This is a comparison which damns Pompey as much as it does Caesar. The final large-scale recasting of Vergilian material in book one is found in the prodigies of civil war at 522–83, in which *prognostica* are adapted from G. 1.464–88 (as well as Ovid, see below §4(d)) and transposed from the period following Caesar's assassination to that concurrent with his invasion of Italy. In Lucan, the supernatural revulsion and portents attending the death of the dictator are polemically displaced to reflect his actions in bringing about the end of the republic. At the end of book one, Lucan returns to the seminally important conclusion to *Georgics* book one, as the *Matrona* declares at 694 *uidi iam, Phoebe, Philippos*, compressing and recasting G. 1.489 f. *ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis | Romanas acies iterum uidere Philippi*, which was itself amplified and adapted at the outset of *BC* 1.

(c) Horace

Horace first assumed his status as a classic author worthy of study and imitation in the Neronian period.⁴⁴ Certainly, Lucan makes full use of the *Epodes*, *Odes*, *Satires*, and *Epistles* regularly throughout book one. Frequently his diction is influenced directly or indirectly by Horace's own expression (as at e.g. 66 cf. *Carm.* 1.32.3 f.; 105 cf. *Carm.* 2.1.29; 165 cf. *Carm.* 3.6.17). A relatively dense and significant cluster of allusions is found at 1–182 which influences the overall tenor of the introduction and the epic proper by importing nuances from classic examples of early Augustan civil war literature. Of particular importance are *Epodes* 7 and 16, mediating some of Lucan's

⁴⁴ Mayer (1982) 305–18 esp. 313–15. For Horace and Lucan: Heitland 126 f.; Pichon 230 f.; Malcovati (1947) 98 f.; Paschalis (1982).

key civil war vocabulary (such as *scelus* and *furor* as well as the concept of *aemula uirtus*); the idea of civil blood as an expiatory offering to Rome's dead *hostes* or as fertilizer; the potential limitlessness of empire as the reward of waging *non impia bella*; the eternal and endemic nature of civil war to the Roman people; the generation lost and the depopulation of Italy because of civil war; and the image of Rome tottering under the weight of her own good fortune. The *Odes* contribute nuances to Lucan's Crassus and his meaning (1.2.21–3, 51–60, 3.5 cf. 10–12 n., 15–18 n.); some prominent elements used in the panegyric of Nero (3.5.1 f. cf. 35 n.; 1.2.41 cf. 49 n.; 1.32.3 cf. 66 n.) including deferred apotheosis (1.2.45 f. cf. 46 n.) and the analogy of gigantomachy/civil war as a necessary prelude to Augustus/Nero (3.4.37–80 cf. 33–8); exemplary history in the figures of Curius, Camillus, and Regulus (1.12.41–4 cf. 168–9 n.; 3.5.18–21 cf. 240 n.); further reflections upon the blood of civil war (2.1.25–31 cf. 9 n., 39 n., 105 n.); the depopulation of Italy as a consequence of civil war (1.2.21–4 cf. 27 n.); explorations of the meaning and importance of *uirtus* (3.2.17–24 cf. 132 n.) and *paupertas* (1.12.41–4 cf. 165–6 n.); and details of Bacchic possession (3.25.1–6 cf. 675–9 n.).

(d) Ovid

The pervasive influence of Ovid's work upon Lucan and the ramifications of this engagement upon our understanding of *BC* are now well established.⁴⁵ Particularly important—and as basic as the *Aeneid* to the understanding of Lucan's project—is the *Metamorphoses*. Although the influence of Ovid upon Lucan has long been recognized in isolated poetic phenomena such as narrative technique, diction, style, and thematic preoccupations, until recently little attention has been paid to the global interpretative implications of the Ovidian world view espoused in *BC*. Lucan's reception of Ovid's epic is sustained, consistent, and systematic. *BC* situates itself as an extension of Ovid's narrative. Wheeler has argued that *BC* forms a massive—and inherently Ovidian—interpolation between lines 752 and 753 of *Metamorphoses* 15 (*scilicet aequoreos plus est domuisse Britannos* |

⁴⁵ For an overview of the *Metamorphoses* and Lucan, see Wheeler (2002) 361–80 esp. 366 f. n. 16 with references, 369–70.

perque papyriferi septemflua flumina Nili), in which the triumphs of Caesar are related and in which the four years of civil war are discreetly omitted: Lucan's epic in effect bridges the gap between the Gallic campaign of 58–51 and the Alexandrian war commencing in 47.⁴⁶ This pretence of continuation is also underscored by Lucan's allusions to the end of the *Metamorphoses* (see below). *BC* privileges the *Metamorphoses'* natural philosophical framework as well as aspects of its cosmology and mythology, especially its paradigms of chaos, civil war, horror, and physical disintegration. This reading and redeployment of the *Metamorphoses* is evident throughout book one in the passages in which Ovid's epic is invoked.

From the outset of *BC*, Lucan flags the importance of Ovid's epic by his fusing of two passages from the *Metamorphoses* to form the very first line of the poem: 1 *Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos*; (cf. *Met.* 5.313 f. *uel nos Emathiis ad Paeonas usque niuosos | cedemus campis*, 12.583 *exercet memores plus quam ciuilitas iras*). Ovid's account of Phaethon (*Met.* 2.31–328) supplies some of the key images of the invocation of Nero at 33–66 (see above: §1(d)).⁴⁷ The same passage takes its basic structure from the end of the *Metamorphoses*. It reworks the list of civil wars that brought Augustus to power (15.822–8; cf. 38–42), the attainment of world peace (15.832; cf. 61), the coming apotheosis of Augustus (15.839; cf. 45–9), and the prayer that his deification be delayed (15.868; cf. 46).⁴⁸ As with the *Aeneid* (see above §4(b)), Lucan quickens his civil war into life by recasting the ending of the *Metamorphoses* and by establishing narrative continuity with his epic predecessors. In his causes of the war at 67–182 the *Metamorphoses* are formative. The first line of his causes at 67 echoes the first line of Ovid's *carmen perpetuum*, and signals the metamorphic nature of his theme.⁴⁹ The first cause of the war, Rome's inability to sustain her own weight along with the simile that illustrated this principle (70–82), returns us to Ovid's age of chaos (*Met.* 1.13 f.; cf. 76) and to Phaethon (*Met.* 2.299).⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Wheeler (2002) 373–5.

⁴⁷ Hinds (1987) 28 f.; Feeney 299 f.; Dewar (1994) 211.

⁴⁸ Wheeler (2002) 371 f.

⁴⁹ Steele (1924) 302 f.; Phillips (1962) 66; Schaaf (1975) 224; Lebek 48 f.; Esposito (1987) 49 f.; Hinds (1987) 29; Tarrant (2002) 356.

⁵⁰ Phillips (1962) 143; Esposito (1987) 50 f.; Hinds (1987) 29; Tarrant (2002) 356–8.

In his presentation of the triumvirate as a *concordia discors*, Lucan invokes the *discors concordia* (*Met.* 1.433),⁵¹ the precariously settled state following Ovid's flood, thereby inverting the sequence of *concordia* emerging out of chaos. The guilt of the *populus* at 158–82 reiterates this sequence of regression: at *Met.* 1.127–50 the guilt of the iron age precedes the flood.⁵² Caesar's entry into Lucan's narrative at 183 f. has been pre-empted by Jupiter's entry into Ovid's (1.166).⁵³ His prayer at 195–200 is a reworking of Ovid's own prayer to the gods of Julio-Claudian Rome at 15.861–7.⁵⁴ In the narrative proper, Lucan's catalogue of prodigies at 522–83 blends Vergilian (see above §4(b)) and Ovidian materials to his own purposes: at *Met.* 15.783–98 the prodigies foretell the assassination of Caesar. As book one moves to its supernatural climax, a number of Ovidian details are incorporated into the (largely Senecan) fabric of the narrative at 617–29 (the extispicy; cf. *Met.* 15.794, 136 f., 695), 639–72 (the astrology; cf. *Met.* 1.49–51, 1.430–3, 7.356, 6.585 f., 4.564), 673–95 (the vision; cf. *Met.* 2.226).

(e) Senecan Drama

Lucan's reception of Senecan tragedy privileges its mythological paradigms of *discordia*; its astrological and cosmological dimensions, as well as its framing of geography and the natural world; its obsession with autocratic power, with justice (divine and human), with the perversion of normal boundaries (especially those of the family); its frequent confusion of the underworld and the inhabited world; its detailed explorations of the occult, especially extispicy, possession, and prophecy. The influence of Seneca's tragedies upon Lucan's language and imagery is virtually ubiquitous. One consequence of this continual presence is the ease and consistency with which Lucan is able to elevate the events of the civil war beyond the significance of their particular historical context to suggest a kind of primordial and universal cataclysm attendant upon the subject matter of the poem.

Throughout the introduction (1–182), particularly dense clusters of Senecan allusion gather around the invocation of Nero (33–66;

⁵¹ Schaaf (1975) 224.

⁵² Schaaf (1975) 224.

⁵³ Pichon 233; Phillips (1962) 64; Feeney 296.

⁵⁴ Phillips (1962) 66 f.; Lebek 118; Feeney 292–4.

importing diction and cosmological imagery from *Med.* 683, 401, *Her. F.* 901; *Phaed.* 808; *Oed.* 269), the imagery of cosmic dissolution (67–99; drawing upon the imagery of implosion from *Ag.* 57–63, 87–9; *Phaed.* 480; *Phoen.* 550; and language from *Phaed.* 312 f.; *Ag.* 401–6, 814–18, 664, 869), and the causes of the war (98–120; cf. *Her. F.* 336; *Phoen.* 375, 404; *Thy.* 113, 444; *Med.* 35; *Tro.* 939). In the narrative proper, the capture of Ariminum (228–65) is informed by imagery and language from *Her. F.* 160, 929; *Tro.* 324, 326, 995; *Ag.* 596; *Thy.* 576; *Med.* 833; *Phoen.* 415. The speech of Laelius (352–91), especially its climax at 374–91 is cast in the Oedipal terms of *Phoen.* 338–45 and coloured throughout by imagery and concepts from *Oed.* 297 f.; *Thy.* 470; *Med.* 681 f.; *Her. F.* 368 f.; *Ag.* 84–6. In the supernatural section concluding the book, Senecan influence naturally comes to the fore. The prodigies of war at 522–83 are inscribed with mythological paradigms of civil war from the *Thyestes* and infernal imagery from the *Hercules Furens*; they also feature a conspicuous blend of astrological, Oedipal, and divine imagery from *Med.* 31, 97 f.; *Phoen.* 744–7; *Thy.* 372 f.; *Oed.* 321–3; *Her. F.* 982–6, 100–3, 482. The expiation of Arruns at 584–638 alludes systematically to the extispicy of Tiresias at *Oed.* 353–70 (with further details imported from *Thy.* 755–8; *Oed.* 334 f., 345). In the final scene of the book at 673–95, a Roman *matrona* is cast as Cassandra from *Ag.* 720–74, with geographical details from *Med.* 383 f.; *Phaed.* 237, 570; *Oed.* 808; *Thy.* 292; and further aspects of possession and prophecy imported from *Ag.* 775–8 and *Her. F.* 1042–53.

(f) Senecan Prose

De Clementia (1.11) offers the narrator a phrase and an intertextual context for Pompey's senescent fatigue in his first appearance in the epic at 129–30. Lucan's Caesar likewise utilizes the tyrannical picture of Sulla in *De Clementia* (1.12) in order to denigrate Pompey, in his brilliant adaptation of the declamatory image (Sen. *Suas.* 6.3 on *Sullana sitis*) of human blood as a comestible for Sulla, now applied to Pompey and styled his student at 330–2. *De Beneficiis* (4.7.1–2, 4.8.3) contains an important discussion of the interchangeable nature of the concepts of *fatum*, *fortuna*, and the gods, which Lucan applies throughout *BC* (see 70 n.). So too at *Ben.* 6.22 and the conclusion of *Ad Marciam De*

Consolatione (Dial. 6.26), Seneca's detailed descriptions of the conflagration influenced Lucan's first simile at 72–80 in points of language and content. At 7.10.5 *De Beneficiis* also offers along with *Ep.* 87.7 and 89.20 (and other Augustan and early imperial texts), corroboration of *latifundia* as a symptom of moral decline (cf. 167–70). In *De Constantia Sapientis* (Dial. 2.4.2), Laelius is anticipated in his willingness to melt precious metal images of the gods. *De Ira* (Dial. 3.2.2) offers a psychological landscape of the wrathful man which Lucan applies literally to the Italian peninsula (24–9). Likewise, Seneca's suicidal barbarian hordes from the same treatise (Dial. 5.2.6) inform his leonine simile of Caesar (212). *De Brevitate Vitae* (Dial. 10.4.1) anticipates the *sententia* at 81 *in se magna ruunt*. The influence of the *Epistulae Morales* over Lucan can be measured in book one in various ways. Caesar compresses the language of *Ep.* 85.8 to compare the enduring nature of Pompey's bloodthirstiness to that of wild tigers at 327; the destruction of Lyons at *Ep.* 91.2—itself an analogy of the destruction of the universe in Seneca—is transferred by Lucan to the potential destruction of Rome at 520. Lucan's *sententia* at 510 f. amplifies Seneca's own terse expression at *Ep.* 101.13. The *Naturales Quaestiones*, predictably, exert their influence over Lucan in book one most commonly where he treats natural phenomena. Seneca's minuscule reduction of the Earth at *Nat.* 1 *pr.* 8 is amplified into the violent schism of the Roman world at 109. Seneca's accounts of the cause and nature of lightning and thunderbolts at *Nat.* 2.12.5 f., 2.40.1–2, 2.57.4, 2.58.2, 7.20.2 as well as *Ep.* 57.8 influence details in Caesar's programmatic simile at 151, 154 and the phenomenon as prodigy at 531–4. Details of comets as objects of terror at *Nat.* 7.1.5 may lay behind 528; comets presaging changes in rule at *Nat.* 7.17.2 appear to result in 529. Lucan takes up the moralizing theme and language of *Nat.* 7.31.2 at 164 f.

On a more superficial level, the incidental influence of the language and expression of Senecan prose upon Lucan's Latin is marked: *De Beneficiis* 2.14.1 inspired 485; *De Providentia* (Dial. 1.4.13) influenced 364; *De Ira* (Dial. 5.23.1, 5.24.1) can be seen behind the language at 256 and 210; *Ad Marciam De Consolatione* (Dial. 6.21.3 and 6.26.5) inspired phrasing at 448 and 73; *De Tranquillitate Animi* (Dial. 9.9.7) was the source of the phrase at 87; *De Brevitate Vitae* (Dial. 10.20.5) influences 239; *Apocolocyntosis* 4.1.25 (a verse, and so an exception here) may have influenced 231 f.; of the *Epistulae Morales*, *Ep.* 13.9

may have influenced 509, *Ep.* 40.4 may have inspired 498; *Ep.* 90.40 influenced 590. Idiosyncratic language at *Nat.* 2.32.5 reappears at 673; *Nat.* 3.27.3 may influence 644; *Nat.* 6.32 may influence 72.

(g) Manilius

The influence of Manilius' *Astronomicon* upon the content, language, and imagery of Lucan's first book can be felt in a number of places, particularly but by no means exclusively, when Lucan describes the prodigies of war (522–83), and in the speech of Nigidius Figulus. Manilian descriptions of and vocabulary used of the universe, its fabric and its potential disintegration at *Man.* 1.247–54, 2.60–6, 804–7 are adapted by Lucan in his cosmological passages at 72–80. *Man.* 1.142 *discordia concors* is a variation on the oxymoron at 98 *concordia discors*. *Man.* 5.513 may influence details of Lucan's description of Pompey at 121. As mentioned above, Manilius' civil war *prognostica* are relevant to Lucan's catalogue at 522–83. Manilius naturally influences Lucan's descriptions of celestial and cosmological phenomena, as at 642 (cf. *Man.* 2.71 f.), 657 (*Man.* 5.744 f.).

At the level of linguistic influence, we may note the following: *Man.* 1.906 *ciuilis etiam motus cognataque bella* influences the proem at 4; *Man.* 1.10 anticipates the end of the apostrophe to Nero at 66; *Man.* 2.68 and 2.807 may influence Lucan's language at 80; *Man.* 4.414 f., 1.584, and 2.589 influences 88, 154, and 315 respectively. *Man.* 2.594a–b anticipates (with Senecan tragedy) 334 *scelerum modus*. *Man.* 5.135 influences Lucan's turn of phrase at 523. *Man.* 3.254 f. anticipates 540. Language at *Man.* 4.377, 5.334, 3.82 is found again at 562, 599, and 643 respectively. *Man.* 2.271 may influence 644.

5. STOIC ELEMENTS IN BOOK ONE

'Stoicism is Lucan's idiom.'⁵⁵ Of course Lucan's readers should not expect detailed philosophical exposition in a poem, but Stoic

⁵⁵ Braund xxiii.

concepts inform and contextualize much of his narrative.⁵⁶ What follows is not intended to be an exhaustive overview of the philosophy as it applies to Lucan, but to contextualize some concepts which have particular resonance in book one. Lucan's response to Stoic thought is in many respects cognate to his response to poetic predecessors. The overwhelming dynamic in play within *BC* is one of inversion or ironic reapplication of the philosophical framework he inherited.

Virtually all early proponents of Stoicism recommend study of the nature of the physical, universal *physis* as a necessary prerequisite to the study of virtue and ethics. Cosmology in general is the basic foundation of all branches of concern to the Stoics.⁵⁷ The term *physis* was conceived of as being, among other things, both the generative force of the universe and, in a particular sense, the force by which the universe itself cohered and was maintained in good order (*SVF* 2.1132). The universe was created—via an analogy from human and animal reproduction (cf. esp. *SVF* 1.87, 1.102)—out of two eternally existing elements (*archai*). One was active, which was designated as *theos* and which consisted of unending, creative fire, or *pyr technikon* (*SVF* 2.1045, 2.1032, 2.1133–4, 2.1027). The other element was passive and theoretically inseparable from the active element. Although its definition was more nebulous, they designated it as *apoios hylê* ('unqualified matter') (*SVF* 2.300–1).⁵⁸ The interaction of these two eternal elements gave rise to the four basic constituent elements of the physical universe: earth, air, fire,⁵⁹ and water. The constitution of the universe was differentiated for the sublunar world, which was comprised of various combinations in balance of the four basic elements, and the heavens, which were comprised of *aithêr*, or creative fire.

It was most likely Chrysippus who developed the later notion that the universe was moreover totally permeated in all parts by a cosmic

⁵⁶ For scholarship devoted to establishing Lucan's (or his narrator's) Stoicism, see e.g. Heitland xxv–xxvi, xlii–xlix; Pichon 167; Marti (1945) 352–66; Klien (1946) 9 f.; Due (1962) 68–132; Brisset (1964) 20–6, 51–78; Le Bonniec (1968); Schotes (1969); Wanke (1964) 163–6; Due (1970) 203–32; Bramble (1982) 533; Lapidge (1989) 1379–429; George (1991) 237–58; George (1992) 362–89; Sklenář (2003).

⁵⁷ Lapidge (1978) 161 f.: the exception is Anacreon of Chios (*SVF* 1.351).

⁵⁸ Lapidge (1978) 164 f.

⁵⁹ Conceived of as destructive in nature to differentiate it from *theos*.

pneuma, or breath (SVF 2.439–62),⁶⁰ which was equated to god and to divine reason (SVF 2.634, 2.1027, 2.1091). In some contexts this breath superseded the creative fire as the active principle of the universe. From *pneuma* derived both the corporeal shape of things (via its relative density in things) and the coherence of the universe itself. This occurred through *pneuma*'s complete interpenetration of the universe, which created an internal tension within it (*tonos*) (SVF 2.447, 2.473, 2.546). For Cleanthes, the existence of the universe was conditioned upon the continuance of this tension (SVF 1.497), although he did not derive this tension from *pneuma*.

The pneumatic tension which unites the universe in Stoic thought has implications which extend beyond the boundaries of cosmology. This tension connects celestial with terrestrial events and phenomena, and this establishes basic implications between cosmology on the one hand, and ethics, natural science, and astrology on the other. This allows for a corporeal theory of causation. This tension also has, through the absolute nature of its permeation of the universe, a temporal as well as spatial extension. This temporal extension of *pneuma*, combined with the corporeal nature of causation, is a foundation of the Stoic notion of determinism and fate. The latter of these was explicitly cast by Chrysippus as a pneumatic force (*dynamis pneumatikê*) (SVF 2.913).

Periodically, this universe dissolves into fire, purifies itself, and is reborn (SVF 1.107, 1.510–12, 2.585–620).⁶¹ This cycle of dissolution and reconstitution—*ἐκπύρωσις* or conflagration—is infinite (SVF 2.596 f., 2.617, 2.620, 2.625 f.), and each new version of the universe is identical to the predecessor out of which it was born (SVF 1.109, 1.512, 2.593, 596 f., 599, 620, 622–32). Conflagration, therefore, is not only destruction, but a phase of renewal (SVF 2.596). It occurs in accordance with the fixed trajectories of the stars (SVF 2.625) and confirms the rational and benevolent causative principle governing the universe (SVF 1.98). The universe unites with its commanding faculty (SVF 2.605, 2.1052, 2.1065); the soul of god expands to encompass and transform all matter in existence, and god's virtue

⁶⁰ Borrowed in essence from Aristotelian biology: see Lapidge (1978) 168 f.

⁶¹ The standard classical references to this concept can be found gathered together at Long and Sedley (1987) 1.274–9, 2.271–7; Inwood and Gerson (1988) 96–127. Further discussion of the conflagration in general can be found at Sandbach (1975) 78 f.; Long (1985); Reesor (1989) 1–21.

rules in the flames (SVF 2.1052): it is not the universe's death,⁶² but its most perfect expression of life.⁶³ At lines 72–80, Lucan's first simile draws a comparison between the inevitability of Rome sinking into civil war beneath the weight of her own good fortune (70–2) and this conflagration. Likewise, conflagration is again invoked at 655–7 during Figulus' astrology. Throughout *BC* Lucan employs language drawn from Stoic terminology regarding the conflagration, as seen in the similar language and imagery employed at 72–80 and in other accounts of the Stoic universe and its dissolution (cf. esp. Sen. *Ben.* 6.22.1, *Dial.* 6.26.6, 11.1.2; Man. 1.247–54, 2.60–6, 804–7).⁶⁴ The simile thus escalates the catastrophic destruction of political strife to a cosmic scale: an inversion of Vergil's comparison of natural and political strife represented in the *Aeneid's* first simile (1.148–53).⁶⁵ This is reinforced throughout *BC* by its emphasis upon the universal symbolism of civil war (cf. 7.134–7); the descent into chaos (cf. 5.634–6); the contravention of natural boundaries and phenomena;⁶⁶ the emphasis upon *discordia* (cf. e.g. 98, 2.272, 5.299, 6.780); and the use of language that underscores the dissolution of union (such as e.g. *resoluere*, *excutere*, *turbare foedus*). However, the element of ordered regeneration following conflagration also generates potentially ironic resonances that contravene the political and ideological stance espoused by the narrator of *BC*.⁶⁷

Lucan often invokes Stoic concepts of fate and predetermination. The role of *fatum*, *fortuna*, or the gods (their identities are often interchangeable in this aspect: Diog. Laert. 7.135 f.; Sen. *Ben.* 4.7, 4.8.3) as causative agents in mortal affairs is a hallmark of Stoic thought (SVF 2.1027; Plut. *Sto. Rep.* 1050A–B; Diog. Laert. 7.147; SVF 2.1116, 1118; Cic. *Fin.* 3.64, *N.D.* 1.39; Sen. *Ep.* 65.12). But the Stoic machinery of providence established throughout *BC* provides it with one of its most enduring points of tension. Attendant upon this view of fate is the wise man's acceptance of the workings of providence because he knows that, ultimately, the universe is administered

⁶² Furley (1999) 439.

⁶³ Mansfield (1981) 38–53.

⁶⁴ Lapidge (1979) 359–70.

⁶⁵ Morford (1967) 47; Lapidge (1979) 359; Hardie (1986) 381; Feeney 278 n. 127; Hershkovitz (1998a) 202.

⁶⁶ Cf. Henderson (1988) 124, 135, 155.

⁶⁷ For which see Roche (2005) 52–71.

according to a beneficent, rational principle that works for the good of the world (SVF 537; cf. Sen. *Dial.* 1.3.; Diog. Laert. 7.87 f., 135; Cic. *Fin.* 2.34; Sen. *Ep.* 92.27, 124.13 f.).

It is a marked characteristic of *BC*'s narrator that he is not in a calm state of acceptance concerning the unfolding of the *series fatorum*. For obstructing him is the unchecked success and unpunished hubris of his Caesar, who works to revert Rome from order to chaos and in doing so makes a mockery of Stoic conceptions of the sage or even the good man. Keefe moves beyond earlier critics, who argue for Lucan's inconsistency to cite this line as evidence for a pervasive picture of a narrator at odds with the machinery of his own universe.⁶⁸ This railing against not only the future events of the narrative, but also the historical facts of his subject matter provide *BC* with one of the most compelling tensions between its plot and its presentation.

The Stoics believed both in the existence of divinatory signs—both direct and indirect—and in their ability to be interpreted by man in order to be useful to him.⁶⁹ They explicitly believed in extispicy, augury, oracular and frenzied prophecy, dreams, and astrology (Cic. *Div.* 2.88); they may have rejected necromancy.⁷⁰ Prophetic signs exist within a network of natural causes (cf. e.g. Cic. *Div.* 1.118).⁷¹ They took prodigies and divination as illustrative of a predetermined universe and a reflection of the benevolence of the organizing principle of this universe (cf. e.g. Diog. Laert. 7.149; Cic. *Div.* 1.10, 82 f.). Divination proved the existence of the gods and vice versa (Cic. *Div.* 1.10, 82 f.), but the Stoics also defended the existence of divination on the intellectual basis that instances of divination were frequent and could be demonstrated, and that examples of successful divination could not be ascribed to chance, human knowledge, or other contaminants to the process.⁷²

The supernatural conclusion to book one—prodigies (522–83), extispicy (584–638), astrology (639–72), and frenzied prophecy (673–95)—can therefore be read broadly against this system. In

⁶⁸ Keefe (2000) 1–63 cf. e.g. Stevenson (1990) 24 f.

⁶⁹ There were some notable dissenters, e.g. Carneades and Panaetius (Cic. *Acad.* 2.107; *Div.* 2.87–97). For a survey of Stoic writings on divination, see Wardle (2006) 111–19; for the terms direct and indirect: Wardle (2006) 126. On Stoics and divination in general: Sandbach (1975) 80 f.; Hankinson (1988) 123–60.

⁷⁰ Long (1982) 166–78; Wardle (2006) 112.

⁷¹ Wardle (2006) 123 f.

⁷² Wardle (2006) 25.

these sections, statements by both the narrator and characters interpreting these phenomena, such as that they manifested themselves in order to remove any element of hope and to further entrench anxiety (522 f., 673 f.), and that they were the product of threatening or malicious divinities (524, 634, 649 f.), stand in complete contrast to the ethical utility of divination, according to which it is in essence a gift of a benevolent god by which man can forearm himself against the otherwise unknowable future.

The Stoic theory of *οἰκείωσις* concerns the natural orientation of the soul.⁷³ This theory accounts for an individual's development from the primal urges and self-preservation which mark infancy to the adult's desire to seek out both virtue in one's self and ethical behaviour towards others (SVF 3.178; Hierocles 1.38; Sen. *Ep.* 121.1; Cic. *Fin.* 3). Children in whom reason has not yet developed act, by definition and in spite of the self-preserving aim of their activity, in accordance with nature. The development of reason in children brings with it the possibility of making false judgements regarding what is in one's best interests, as well as the generation of impulses which are not in accordance with nature (SVF 3.456; Sen. *Dial.* 3.1.3–7, 1.8.1–7). The mature soul of the wise man maintains its innate inclination towards what is rational and natural, whereas that of the fool has no such consistent orientation. This theory has implications beyond personal choices and behaviour. The theory of *οἰκείωσις* facilitates social relationships and reciprocities (Cic. *Fin.* 3.19–22): the love which parents have for children forms the basis for social bonding, because parenthood is both a form of self-preservation and the preservation of another being (Cic. *Fin.* 3.62). These bonds of human union are described by Hierocles as expanding outwards from the individual to his parents, into the family, kin, community, and state in concentric circles (1.38): it is the duty of the Stoic wise man to contract these circles so that the entire human community is conceived of as a fraternity; i.e. all men are to treat each other as though brothers.⁷⁴

George has read Lucan's Caesar and his adherents as embodying the antithesis of this disposition.⁷⁵ Caesar moves in accordance with

⁷³ See George (1988) 331–41; Sandbach (1975) 31–8, esp. 32–4; Dyck (1996) 83–4; Reydam-Schils (2005) 55–9.

⁷⁴ Sandbach (1975) 31–8, esp. 32–4

⁷⁵ George (1988) 331–41.

his *spes* and *ira* (146). Both Caesar and his soldiers present him as fighting for his own benefit (as at 203, 284 f., 290 f.). Laelius at 299–351 makes plain the opposition between the natural inclination of the soul, and fighting for Caesar (esp. 353–6, 362 f., 373 f.). Laelius presents himself as the corporeal embodiment of Caesar's will (363, 369, 376–8), and most dramatically, is willing to kill members of his own community and family (373–8): his speech marks his transformation from someone whose *οἰκείωσις* had been instantiated in the earning of the civic crown to someone who has debased himself as the agent of an irrational *ἡγεμονικόν*.

6. THE EVENTS OF BOOK ONE IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL TRADITION

(a) The political and moral causes of the war

The historiographical tradition on the outbreak of the civil war focused upon both specific political and personal factors as well as wider moral and sociological conditions. When treating specific events as causes of the war, the historical sources concentrate on three distinct phases: the years 60–59, 54–53, and 52–49. Asinius Pollio commenced his history of the civil war with the year 60, and the agreement between Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus.⁷⁶ This starting point asserts a causative relationship between the original pact of the dynasts and the commencement of civil war in 49, and we see Pollio's influence reflected in later authors.⁷⁷ At 84–93, we can see Lucan operating within this tradition, when the formation of the triumvirate (85 *facta tribus dominis communis, Roma*) is explicitly marked out as a cause of the war (84 *causa malorum*). Most sources also offer narratives of the domestic politics of the 50s in contexts which are

⁷⁶ Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.1; cf. e.g. Andre (1949) 44–50; Pelling (1979) 76; Morgan (2000) 54.

⁷⁷ e.g. Vell. 2.44.1; Florus 2.13.8–13; Plut. *Caes.* 13.5, *Pomp.* 47.2, *Cato* 30.6; Cass. Dio 37.56, 58; App. *B Civ.* 2.10 on the immediate disputes between the dynasts, 2.25 and 29 on the senate's continuing offence in 52 and 50 at the behaviour of Caesar in 59.

suggestive of their causative effect;⁷⁸ here the survey is limited to events explicitly marked as contributing directly to the outbreak of the war. After 60, the next specific causes which are invoked as such are the deaths of Crassus and Julia.⁷⁹ Again, at 98–120, Lucan operates within this tradition, and plainly cites the deaths of Crassus and Julia as causes of the civil war (cf. esp. 106–11, 119 f.). After 53, the sources focus upon the impasse over the termination of Caesar's Gallic command and the prospect of his standing *in absentia* for the consulship of 49;⁸⁰ the negotiations regarding disarmament and the mutual suspicion between Pompey and Caesar resulting from these;⁸¹ Pompey's increased alienation from Caesar resulting from the honours paid him by the senate, especially his third consulship of 52;⁸² tribunician manoeuvres on Caesar's behalf in 50 and 49;⁸³ here the actions of Curio in particular are isolated;⁸⁴ the rumour of Caesar's invasion in 50;⁸⁵ and the entrusting of the defence of Italy to Pompey.⁸⁶ A number of these events are also included or implied in Lucan's account of the outbreak of hostilities, although he is selective and will typically defer his allusion to these events in accordance with his poetic and political agenda. The manoeuvring of both Caesar and the senate regarding the Gallic command and the issue of disarmament after 55 is alluded to in non-specific terms by Curio at 273–9. Caesar

⁷⁸ Cf. Smith (1964) 303 on Pollio's choice: '... he had sound reasons for the date he chose; he knew that Caesar's consulship had inaugurated the Republic's end in 59; that 49 was but a logical continuation of that consulship, and that the whole decade must be seen as one vast complex event, whose end was the end of the Republic'.

⁷⁹ At e.g. Vell. 2.47.2; Val. Max. 4.6.4; Florus 2.13.13; Plut. *Caes.* 28.1, *Pomp.* 53.4–7; Suet. *Iul.* 27.1; App. *B Civ.* 2.19; Cass. Dio 40.44.2–3. Livy's assessment of these deaths as direct causes is obscured by the *periocha* of book 106.

⁸⁰ Liv. *per.* 107, 108, 109; Vell. 2.49.4; Florus 2.13.15–17; Plut. *Caes.* 29.1, 4, 30.4, 31.1, *Pomp.* 56.1; Suet. *Iul.* 28; App. *B Civ.* 2.26, 30, 32; Cass. Dio 40.44, 40.59.1–60.1; Eutrop. 6.18; Oros. 6.15.

⁸¹ Liv. *per.* 109; Vell. 2.48.1; Plut. *Caes.* 30.1, 5–6, *Pomp.* 54.1, 3, 58.3–5; Suet. *Iul.* 29; App. *B Civ.* 2.27–8, 32; Cass. Dio 40.62.3, 41.1.3–2.2.

⁸² Vell. 2.42.3; Florus 2.13.14; Plut. *Caes.* 28.8–29.1, *Pomp.* 56, 57.3–5; Cass. Dio 40.50.5–51.1.

⁸³ Liv. *per.* 109; Plut. *Caes.* 30.2–4, 31.2–3; Suet. *Iul.* 30, 31; App. *B Civ.* 2.33; Cass. Dio 41.1.2, 3.1–2; Oros. 6.15.

⁸⁴ Liv. *per.* 109; Vell. 2.48.3; Plut. *Pomp.* 58.3–5; App. *B Civ.* 2.27, 30–1; Cass. Dio 40.60.2–61.3.

⁸⁵ Plut. *Pomp.* 60.1; App. *B Civ.* 2.31.

⁸⁶ Liv. *per.* 109; Vell. 2.49.2; Plut. *Pomp.* 59.1; App. *B Civ.* 2.31; Cass. Dio 40.64.3, 41.3.3–4.

himself naturally refers to the suspicion in which he holds Pompey in his speech at Ariminum both in general (311–46) and in terms of Pompey's relationship with senatorial conservatives (cf. esp. 311–13). The tribunician politics of the late 50s features at 176–7, 266–71, and in the speech of Curio (273–9). The entrusting of the defence of the state to Pompey is alluded to only in oblique terms, if at all, at 311–13.

Informing these specific events were broader and ongoing political, moral, and sociological phenomena. The idea of a degeneration of morals at Rome—the origin of which was dated variously within the second century—was prominent in sources such as Sallust, Livy, Diodorus, and their second-century precursors.⁸⁷ Its connection with the outbreak of civil conflict is particularly explicit in Sallust and is implied in Livy, both of whom are important for our understanding of Lucan's engagement with this tradition at 158–82, although they by no means represent an exclusive influence upon him in this regard. In this tradition of moralizing historiography the relaxation of Roman discipline is explicitly invoked as a fundamental theme or a causative agent in the subject matter under discussion.⁸⁸ Other themes include the widespread cessation of the *mos maiorum* in the face of new-found wealth,⁸⁹ and the attendant rise of *luxus/luxuria*;⁹⁰ the expansion of private houses beyond acceptable limit;⁹¹ extravagant cuisine;⁹² the emasculating nature of luxury;⁹³ disdain for *paupertas*, previously a key element in republican paradigms of Romanness;⁹⁴ the power of *egestas* as a cause of *nefas*;⁹⁵ violence as

⁸⁷ e.g. Sall. *Cat.* 11.4, 5; Liv. *praef.* 11–12; Diod. 37.2.3. Earlier sources: Cato the Elder and Scipio Aemilianus at *ORF* 17, 30 173 f., 203; Cato at *ORF* 122, 163; Polyb. 18.34, 35, 31.25.3, 39.1.10; Piso *apud* Plin. *HN* 17.244. See Earl (1967) 44–5; Miles (1986) 2–4; Lintott (1971) 496 f.; (1972) 626–38; and especially Edwards (1993) esp. 1–33, 176–8.

⁸⁸ Sall. *Cat.* 14.1; Liv. *praef.* 9; cf. Lucan at 1.158 f.

⁸⁹ Cato, *Origines* fr. 113–15, 118, 132 *HRRel.*; Sall. *Cat.* 10.4; cf. Lucan at 1.160 f.

⁹⁰ e.g. Cato *Origines* fr. 95 *HRRel.*; Sall. *Cat.* 12.2; Liv. *praef.* 11, 34.4.1 f.; cf. Lucan at 1.162. See Edwards (1993) 5–8, 137–72, 200–6.

⁹¹ Cato fr. 185 *ORF*; Sall. *Cat.* 12.3; cf. Lucan at 1.163. See Edwards (1993) 137–72, esp. 160–3.

⁹² Cato fr. 96, 145 f. *ORF*; Lucan at 1.163 f. See Edwards (1993) 186–90.

⁹³ Cato, *Origines* fr. 113–15 *HRRel.*; cf. Lucan at 1.164 f. See Edwards (1993) 63–97.

⁹⁴ Sall. *Cat.* 12.1; Liv. *praef.* 11 cf. Lucan at 1.165 f. (also NH on Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.42).

⁹⁵ Sall. *Cat.* 14.3, 20.15, 37.3; cf. Lucan at 1.173 f.

the yardstick of legality.⁹⁶ Prominent also is the role of a personified *Fortuna* in bringing about this change,⁹⁷ and the framing of moral degeneration as a perversion of normal aristocratic competition.⁹⁸

(b) Caesar's invasion of Italy

The historical tradition on the events of the civil war itself is influenced to an ultimately unmeasurable but evidently profound level by two lost narratives: Asinius Pollio's *Historiae*, and book 109–16 of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*. The important issues of the relationship between Pollio's account and that found in both Livy and Caesar's *De Bello Ciuili*,⁹⁹ the influence of Caesar upon Livy, and Caesar's independent influence on the tradition of civil war narratives are obscured by the loss of Pollio and Livy.

A survey of the narratives of 7–17 January 49 (i.e. from the passing of the *Senatus Consultum Ultimum* at Rome to the last event recounted by Lucan in book one) in Caesar's *De Bello Ciuili*, the *periocha* of Livy 109, Velleius Paterculus, Plutarch's *Caesar* and *Pompey*, Suetonius' *Diuus Julius*, Appian, Florus, Cassius Dio, Orosius and Eutropius provides an instructive backdrop to Lucan's arrangement of his material, and the best evidence for the issue of his use of historical sources.

In Caesar (*Civ.* 1.5.5) and Livy (*per.* 109), the immediate sequel to the passing of the SCU at Rome on 7 January 49 (*Caes. Civ.* 1.5.3–4) is the flight of the tribunes from the city to meet Caesar. Suetonius (*Jul.* 30.1, 31.1) and Orosius (6.15) record their flight, but do not locate it relative to the SCU. In Appian (2.33), Plutarch (*Caes.* 31.2, cf. *Pomp.* 61), and Cassius Dio (41.1.2), this event precedes the senate's commission to Pompey to levy troops in Italy (*App. B Civ.* 2.34). Caesar's crossing the Rubicon stems ultimately from the account of Asinius Pollio, and is featured in Velleius (2.49.4), Suetonius (*Jul.* 33.1), Appian (2.35), Plutarch (*Caes.* 32.5, cf. *Pomp.* 60.2), and Orosius (6.15). It is suppressed in Caesar's account (cf. *Civ.* 1.8.1):

⁹⁶ Sall. *Hist.* fr. 1.18; cf. Lucan at 1.175 f.

⁹⁷ e.g. Sall. *Cat.* 8.1, 10.1; Florus 2.13; cf. Lucan at 1.160 f.

⁹⁸ e.g. Sall. *Cat.* 11–12; cf. Lucan at 1.176–80.

⁹⁹ See Morgan (2000) 58–60 for comments.

one index of Pollio's critical reaction to Caesar's commentaries.¹⁰⁰ The capture of Ariminum commonly marks the first strategic move of the war, and we see this in all of our sources,¹⁰¹ except Velleius and Suetonius. Caesar addresses his troops at Ariminum in the accounts of Livy (*per.* 109), Orosius (6.15), and in Cassius Dio (41.4.1), where he also addresses Curio in order to justify his invasion of Italy and rouse the troops to war. Caesar does not address his soldiers at Ariminum in his own commentaries (he does so at Ravenna prior to the invasion: 1.7, cf. 1.5); instead, at Ariminum he meets the tribunes from the city and receives a delegation from Pompey (*Civ.* 1.8); this delegation is recounted in further detail by Cassius Dio, who delays it until after his narrative of Caesar's invasion of northern Italy (41.5.2: Pompey sends it north; 41.6.1: Pompey leaves Rome for Campania; 41.6.5: he learns of Caesar's angry reply). Immediately following on from Caesar's address to the troops in Cassius Dio is a description of his progression southwards through the cities of northern Italy (41.4.2), and this was surely also the case in Livy's account, as it is in Orosius' (6.15). In Appian (*B Civ.* 2.35)—who omits Caesar's speech to his soldiers—this itinerary is the sequel to the capture of Ariminum; in Caesar it follows the delegation at Ariminum (*B Civ.* 1.11). Unanimously in our sources, the narrative now shifts from Caesar's movements to the reaction to these movements. In Caesar (*Civ.* 1.14), Appian (2.35 f.), and Plutarch (*Caes.* 33.2, cf. *Pomp.* 60.3, 61.3), rumours regarding the nature of Caesar's invasion are recounted, along with the flight of people from northern Italy into Rome, and the general panic in the capital. All sources recount the evacuation of Rome by Pompey and the senate.¹⁰²

The tradition outlined above is strongly in evidence in Lucan's narrative; so too are many of his choices in adapting this tradition. The pattern in the historical sources of staying with Caesar until after his invasion of the northern Italian cities and then transferring focus

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Suet. *Jul.* 56.4 *Pollio Asinius parum diligenter parumque integra ueritate compositos putat*, and the comments of Morgan (2000) 58–60.

¹⁰¹ *Caes. Civ.* 1.7; *Plut. Caes.* 32.3, cf. *Pomp.* 60.1; *App. B Civ.* 2.35; *Florus* 2.13.19; *Cass. Dio* 41.4.1; *Eutrop.* 6.18; *Orosius* 6.15. Its presence in Livy book 109 is clear from Caesar's addressing five cohorts there.

¹⁰² *Caes. Civ.* 1.14; *Vell.* 2.49.4; *Plut. Caes.* 33.6, cf. *Pomp.* 61.3–4; *App. B Civ.* 2.37; *Florus* 2.13.21; *Suet. Jul.* 34; *Cass. Dio* 41.6.1, 41.6–9; *Orosius* 6.15; *Eutrop.* 6.18.

to the reaction at Rome is preserved; so too is the transitioning device of the evacuation of Italy and the rumours of Caesar's invasion (183–465 with Caesar; 466–86 evacuation of Italy and rumours; 486–522 reaction at Rome and its abandonment). Lucan's arrangement of this historical material is especially clear in a summary of his sequence of events at 183–522. In *BC* book 1 the main events present in the historiographical tradition appear in the following order:

1. Caesar at the Rubicon (185–227)
2. Caesar takes Ariminum (228–61)
3. Caesar addresses his troops (and Curio; cf. Cass. Dio 41.4.1) (266–351)
4. Caesar moves south through Italy (466–8)
5. rumour spreads and Italy withdraws into Rome (469–86)
6. abandonment of Rome by its magistrates (486–9)
7. terror at Rome (490–520)
8. abandonment of Rome by Pompey (521–2)

This pattern—especially the sequence Rubicon, Ariminum, speeches, and southward movement—correlates very strongly with the sequence found in the *periocha* of Livy 109, Cassius Dio (41.4.1–2), and Orosius (6.15). Appian's sequence (at *B Civ.* 2.35) is a variant of this Livian organization: Rubicon, Ariminum, southward movement, the speeches are omitted. The difference between this tradition and the sequence in Caesar (*Civ.* 1.7–11) is clear. He has: Ravenna, speeches, Ariminum, delegation from Pompey, southward movement. Lucan introduces his own material into the Livian sequence at a number of important junctures. Most prominently, Lucan has Caesar cross the Alps as a means of commencing his war narrative (183–5), and he does not begin with the expulsion of the tribunes (cf. Liv. *Per.* 109; Cass. Dio 41.1.2; Orosius 6.15; see below), the senate's instructions to Pompey (App. *B Civ.* 2.34), or with Caesar sending an advanced guard ahead to Ariminum (App. *B Civ.* 2.35; Plut. *Caes.* 32.3). His second innovation is to insert a speech from the troops to Caesar in response to his own oration at Ariminum; we observe this in the speech of Laelius at 359–86. The third clear innovation, also occurring after the speech at Ariminum, is Lucan's catalogue of Gallic troops, which he inserts between Laelius' speech and Caesar's southward movement at 392–465. Lucan also delays

mention of a number of events which appear early in the historiographical tradition. The most significant of these is the expulsion of the tribunes, which is deferred until after the capture of Ariminum, at 266–7, and the SCU of 7 January, which is delayed until after his narrative transitions to Rome, and then mentioned only obliquely at 489. The most prominent innovation of all—if it was not sourced from Livy—is the extended supernatural sequence from 522–695; the issue is obscured by the loss of Livy 109.

(c) Lucan's use of historical sources in book one

Since Pichon, Lucan's use of Livy as a source of historical material has been recognized.¹⁰³ This thesis has been endorsed by Radicke,¹⁰⁴ but requires re-examination. Lucan clearly used Livy. Book 109 of the *Ab Urbe Condita* was the first of eight books treating the period 49–45. Its *periocha* records that it covered the events of 51 to March 49 including the immediate causes of the war; the tribunate of Curio; the abandonment of the city by the tribunes; the SCU of 7 January; and Caesar's invasion of Italy down to Pompey's evacuation from Brundisium. Lucan's use of this narrative is strongly implied at 299–351, since Orosius (6.15) has Caesar address his troops at Ariminum (i.e. *after* the invasion had begun; *contra* *Caes. Civ.* 1.7; *App. B Civ.* 2.33; *Plut. Caes.* 31.3) and quotes Livy as his source.¹⁰⁵ A clear view of the matter is obscured by the loss of Pollio's history and Livy 109. Caesar's probable influence upon Livy's narrative and the extent to which the events of the civil war were common knowledge in Lucan's day further exacerbate the problem and render moot many of the traditional concerns of source criticism. The extent to which 299–351 is influenced by Livy 109 is impossible to gauge. It is likely that Lucan also consulted the speech at *Caes. Civ.* 1.7. It is equally likely that this passage influenced Livy's speech. Getty's (xxxv–xxxvi) inference that Livy was the 'real source' of 466–695 because of his 'love of narrating

¹⁰³ Pichon 107; cf. also the earlier work of Baier (1874).

¹⁰⁴ Radicke (2004) 9–43.

¹⁰⁵ *Caesar Rubicone flumine transmeato mox ut Ariminum uenit, quinque cohortes, quas tunc solas habebat, cum quibus, ut ait Liuius, orbem terrarum adortus est, quid facto opus esset edocuit*; cf. also Lintott (1971) 488 f. n. 6.

prodigies and expiation' is guesswork. Mention of these at App. *B Civ.* 2.36 need not imply co-dependence upon Livy,¹⁰⁶ and may as easily indicate Lucan's influence upon Appian.¹⁰⁷

Notwithstanding Lucan's frequent use of Livy, it is clear that he did not use him exclusively. Lucan's narrative is in many ways a conscious recasting of Caesar's account of the civil war, although this position becomes more explicit later in the epic.¹⁰⁸ The use of Caesar's commentaries is suggested in several places in book one. Details of Caesar's method of fording rivers at *De Bello Gallico* 7.45.4 seem to be reprised at 220–2. Caesar's hesitation at 262 may reflect *Civ.* 1.9.1–6. Caesar's speech at 299–351 imports themes found at *Civ.* 1.7.7. The accusations at 319–23 are also found at *Civ.* 1.3.3, 3.1.4. Line 359 may echo *Civ.* 1.7.8. The Gallic catalogue at 392–465 seems to use *De Bello Gallico* as one principle of inclusion (cf. esp. 409–11 and *Gal.* 3.12.1), although Livy 103 (*praeterea situm Galliarum continet*) is also conspicuous.¹⁰⁹ Line 478 recasts *Gal.* 7.46.4. The *Feriae Latinae* may be included at 550 on account of *Civ.* 3.2.1. Other republican sources obtrude. Asinius Pollio may be the source for Pompey as an old man, if Appian (2.1) did not get this from Lucan.¹¹⁰ Despite the long tradition of the topos of moral decline in the literature and thought of the republic, Sallust's particular take on the theme is clearly in evidence at 158–82. Cicero's correspondence and oratory have also been consulted, as at e.g. 138 (cf. *Att.* 6.6.4); 171 f. (cf. *Phil.* 2.113); 175 (cf. *Fam.* 7.3.5); 184 f. (cf. *Cons.* 27); 227 (*Att.* 7.18.1); 277 (cf. *Mil.* 11); 319–23 (cf. *Mil.* 1); 484 (cf. *Phil.* 3.12.8); 514 (cf. *Fam.* 16.2.2; *Att.* 8.8.1).¹¹¹ Finally, Lucan seems to have Velleius Paterculus (2.48) for Curio.

(d) History as a subject matter for epic

There is no easy demarcation between 'mythological' as opposed to 'historical' epic subject matter per se (cf. e.g. Thuc. 1.10.3–5,

¹⁰⁶ Lintott (1971) 488 f. n. 6.

¹⁰⁷ See in other contexts Perrin (1884).

¹⁰⁸ Ahl 307; Henderson (1988) 132 f.; Masters esp. 11–87; Radicke (2004), esp. n. 3 29–30 rejects this engagement with Caesar.

¹⁰⁹ Pichon 24–33.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Perrin (1884) 325.

¹¹¹ For Cicero as a source for Lucan: Malcovati (1953) esp. 293–7.

evaluating perceived historical kernels of the *Iliad*).¹¹² Moreover the conventions governing historiographical versus epic narration turn upon presentation rather than upon any objective sense of the material's likelihood to have occurred (cf. e.g. Serv. A. 1.235).¹¹³ Recent history was self-consciously recast in epic poetry as early as the late fifth century, in Choerilus of Samos' *Persica*. It flowered in the Hellenistic period and it is present in Roman epic from Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* onwards.¹¹⁴ The choice of history as a subject is in no way mutually exclusive with mythological narratives, embellishments, and excursuses (Choerilus at least alluded to Boreas and Orithyia).¹¹⁵ Historical epic often privileges foundation narratives, present in epic from Hom. *Il.* 2.653 but gaining prominence and importance in the Hellenistic period.¹¹⁶ Both Naevius and Ennius treated material without a unifying, individual hero at its centre: the particular concern of their Roman epics was national rather than individual achievement,¹¹⁷ although their subject matter of course still afforded scope both to extol and expose individuals and their actions. The single most significant distinction between the presentation of the same material in epic and history was epic's inclusion of the 'characterful narration of divine material'; that is the narration of divinities and divine action on their own plane.¹¹⁸

Epic narrative, by the conventional ancient assessment, is perfectly entitled to treat the same events as 'history', yet it does so in its own distinctive fashion: it is not necessarily verisimilitudinous, it has a tangential relationship with 'reality', it achieves its characteristic effects principally through stunning and extraordinary displays of power, to which the gods above all contribute.¹¹⁹

¹¹² For a discussion of the main issues: Feeney 42 f., 250–69; Goldberg (1995) 53–6, 146 f., 162–5.

¹¹³ Woodman (1988) 98–101; Goldberg (1995) 162 f.

¹¹⁴ Goldberg (1995) 53.

¹¹⁵ Goldberg (1995) 54.

¹¹⁶ Goldberg (1995) 53–5.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Goldberg (1995) 147 'They created epic, at just the time Roman aristocrats began developing history, not simply to record and extol but to understand the scope and meaning of the Roman achievement. Their deliberate fusion of epic form and historical narrative shifts the function and appeal of epic from tales of individual prowess to the celebration of communal achievements.'

¹¹⁸ The irreducible line of demarcation according to Feeney 261.

¹¹⁹ Feeney 261 f.

In the Roman republican tradition, the inevitable telos of the Roman domination of the Mediterranean prefigures the divine machinery of these narratives: unified and consenting gods endorse and make possible the outcome of their narratives. Lucan's suppression of the traditional representation of epic divinities does away with the most significant narrative boundary between epic and historiography. This is a choice which both frees him from the problem of directly confronting divine approval for his subject matter and casts his narrator as operating without the traditional, divinely inspired authority and assistance in his task as epic narrator.¹²⁰

(e) *A contemporary point of comparison:*
Eumolpus' Bellum Ciuile

Lucan's use of this historical material and the choices he makes in arranging his narrative can be contextualized by comparison with the civil war narrative of Petronius' poetaster, Eumolpus, at *Sat.* 119–24.¹²¹ Eumolpus' poem divides into the same basic, tripartite panels of narrative we observe in *BC*, viz. an introduction surveying the causes or prerequisite conditions of the war (*BC* 1.1–182; cf. Petr. 1–66), a narrative of Caesar's invasion (*BC* 1.183; cf. Petr. 67–208), and an account of the reaction at Rome (*BC* 1.466–695; cf. Petr. 209–95). Eumolpus' structure would seem therefore to reflect the arrangement of material in the historiographical tradition (as discussed above), and this is true to a certain extent. However, owing to the differing agendas of the two poets, the narrative in the *Satyricon* engages less directly with this tradition than does Lucan.¹²²

In his account of the causes of the war, Eumolpus largely omits political factors. He instead focuses upon aspects of moral decline at

¹²⁰ Feeney 274–9.

¹²¹ In what follows, I cite the *Satyricon* by the line numbers of Eumolpus' narrative alone.

¹²² Eumolpus declares what appear to be his poetic principles at *Sat.* 118.6 *ecce belli ciuilis ingens opus quisquis attigerit nisi plenus litteris, sub onere labetur. non enim res gestae uersibus comprehendendae sunt, quod longe melius historici faciunt, sed per ambages deorumque ministeria et fabulosum sententiarum tormentum praecipitandus est liber spiritus, ut potius furentis animi uaticinatio appareat quam religiosae orationis sub testibus fides.*

Rome after her world dominance (cf. Petr. 1 *orbem iam totum uictor Romanus habebat*): avarice, particularly for gold and bronze (1–12) and for arena animals (13–18); pederasty (19–27); desire for *objets d'art* (27–32); and gluttony (33–8). It is only at line 39 that political factors emerge, and even here they are treated as symptoms of moral decline rather than causes per se: political corruption in general and the electoral defeat of Cato in particular (39–49). The triumvirate concludes this section (61–6) but, again, the context does not explicitly name them as a cause of the war (cf. *BC* 1.84 f. *tu causa malorum | facta tribus dominis communis, Roma*). In this synopsis, it is clear that there is a correlation with Lucan's causes. In both poems, moral decline and the emergence of the triumvirate are cited, but the order in which they appear is inverted: in *BC* the formation of the triumvirate at 84–97 is near the beginning of his causes, whereas Eumolpus concludes with this alliance. Likewise, the amount of space devoted to political and moral factors is reversed. In Lucan, the topic of moral decline (not excluding political symptoms of this decline) is marginalized, and receives 25 lines (158–82), which follow after 74 lines treating political factors (84–157). Eumolpus treats purely moral elements for 38 lines before 28 lines of political factors (39–66). This insistence upon moral factors in Eumolpus' account ultimately sets him apart both from Lucan and from the historiographical tradition.

In the account of Caesar's invasion, there is a strong sense of correlation between the two poems and their respective engagements with the historiographical tradition. Eumolpus' choice to commence the historical elements of his war narrative with Caesar in the Alps (141–55) correlates to Lucan's Caesar at the Rubicon (183–227). Likewise the speech of Caesar to his troops while in the Alps (Petr. 156–76) shares its purpose and relative position with the speech of Lucan's Caesar at Ariminum (296–351). Both narratives conclude with Caesar's invasion of Northern Italy (*BC* 1.466–8; cf. Petr. 123–228). Where Eumolpus expands upon this material, it is in favour of presenting the divine machinery of his poem. This presentation is inserted as a prelude to his account of Caesar's activities: Dis in the Phlegraean fields and his speech to Fortuna (67–99); Fortuna's speech in response to Dis (100–21); and the omens of war (122–40). Where Lucan expands on this tradition (leaving aside his inclusion of

Caesar at Ariminum at 228–65, suppressed by Eumolpus), it is in favour of rhetoric: the speeches of Curio (*BC* 1.266–95) and of Laelius (*BC* 1.352–91) to Caesar at Ariminum.

This sense of correlation continues into the third broad panel of narrative. Both poets effect a transition directly after Caesar's invasion of Northern Italy by turning to the rumours regarding this invasion (*BC* 1.469–86; cf. *Petr.* 209–17), a change of focus firmly embedded in the historiographical tradition on the war. In both poets, the evacuation of Rome (*BC* 1.486–522; cf. *Petr.* 218–44) follows on directly from the rumours of Caesar's invasion, and this is also in keeping with the historical sources on the war. Lucan and Eumolpus accord most closely in their expansive sequels to this material: both follow the evacuation of the city with an extensive account of the supernatural reaction to the historical events thus far. Lucan largely maintains the point of view of the human subjects of his narrative and focuses upon their reactions to supernatural events. Eumolpus (in keeping with the poetic principals he espouses at *Sat.* 118.6) shifts the point of view again to recount the evacuation of the gentler gods from the Earth (245–53) and their replacement by the gods of war (254–63), the taking of sides by the Olympian divinities (264–70), and the emergence of Discordia and her speech (283–95).

7. RHETORICAL EPIC

(a) Rhetoric in Lucan

Lucan's rhetorical style—whether it is formulated as the compulsion to be 'dramatic and colourful, vibrant with hyperbole and epigram',¹²³ or as a search for pathos through paradox, *sententiae*, rhetorical *colores*, and momentary effects achieved at the expense of plot and character continuity¹²⁴—has often been claimed as the specific characteristic of his poem,¹²⁵ and the subject of Lucan's rhetorical technique has been

¹²³ Morford (1967) 87.

¹²⁴ Narducci (2007) 387, applying to Lucan the criticism of Leo (1878) 147–59 on Seneca's 'rhetorical tragedy'.

¹²⁵ Goebel (1981) 79; Bramble (1982) 533 f.; Hunink (1992) xiii.

called (with admissible hyperbole) inexhaustible.¹²⁶ Getty (lii–lxvi) itemized a number of rhetorical tropes and figures both defined by Quintilian and present in book one, viz. metaphor (7 n., 57 n., 68 n., 100–3 n., 262–4 n., 292–3 n., 348 n., 498–503 n.), synecdoche (1 n., 142 n., 398 n., 640 n.; cf. also introductory notes at 266–95 and 673–95), metonymy (35 n., 43 n., 47 n., 54 n., 64 n., 177 n., 178–9 n., 219 n., 255 n., 299 n., 319 n., 374 n., 396 n., 414 n., 463 n., 466 n., 468 n.), antonomasia (as at 35 *Tonanti*; 95 n., 484 n., 662 n.), onomatopoeia, catachresis (314 n.), metalepsis (as at 2 *canimus*), epithet, allegory, periphrasis (1 n., 15–18 n., 106 n., 166–7 n., 216 n., 238 n., 252 n., 367–8 n., 405 n., 536 n., 611 n., 634 n., 684 n.), hyperbaton (27 n., 137 n., 210 n., 286 n., 293–5 n., 464–5 n., 493 n., 591 n., 595 n., 603 n.), and hyperbole (see below §8). The approach of clustering these together in an overview of the rhetorical nature of the poem has drawn criticism both for the distorting effect of concentrating on discrete effects, and for being potentially limitless in its extent without conveying adequately Lucan's particular rhetorical style.¹²⁷ It has on the other hand the distinct merit of discussing rhetorical aspects of Lucan's style in specific terms. Morford approached Lucan's rhetorical style through the relevant broader divisions of rhetoric, *inuentio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio*.¹²⁸ For *inuentio* in book one, see above §6 (a)–(e). For Lucan's *dispositio* of his material in book one, see above §2. For his arrangement and structure of discrete scenes within book one, see detailed introductory comments at 1–7, 8–32, 67–97, 98–120, 120–57, 183–227, 228–65, 266–95, 296–351, 352–91, 392–465, 466–522, 522–83, 584–638, 639–72, and 673–95. For comments pertaining to Lucan's *elocutio*, see below §8.

(b) Declamatory Epic

The Annaei had an interest in declamation which they sustained across three generations.¹²⁹ Seneca the Elder heard all of the major figures of declamation from the death of Cicero until after the death

¹²⁶ Morford (1967) 1; Mayer (1981) 14.

¹²⁷ Fordyce (1940) 95 f.; Morford (1967) 1.

¹²⁸ Morford (1967).

¹²⁹ On Lucan and declamation: Bonner (1966); Morford (1967).

of Augustus. Late in his life, he recorded the speeches and topics of his contemporaries, so that his sons could evaluate them at first hand rather than by hearsay (Sen. *Contr.* 1 *pr.*). It was at the request of his sons—Novatus (later adopted by the declaimer Junius Gallio), Seneca the Younger, and Mela (Lucan's father)—that he composed the *Controuersiae* and *Suasoriae*; and they in turn took their father to hear contemporary declaimers (Sen. *Contr.* 10 *pr.* 2, 9). Vacca writes that Lucan himself was highly regarded as a declaimer in his youth;¹³⁰ and it appears that Lucan composed a pair of declamations on the murder trial of Octavius Sagitta in 58.¹³¹ In adopting the subject of the civil war for his epic, Lucan was covering ground—in terms of events, themes, and individuals—that was very familiar to exponents of declamation. Caesar, Pompey, and Cato, as well as Sulla, Cicero, Antony, Brutus, and Sextus Pompeius, are all attested as subjects of declamations in various ethical conundrums in the first century of the imperial period.¹³² Cicero had himself rehearsed what were in effect *suasoriae* on various theses to do with tyranny and opposition in order to help him decide whether or not to support Pompey in 49 (Cic. *Att.* 9.4).

Lucan's emphasis upon tyranny throughout *BC* (4 n., 76–9 n., 258 n., 289–90 n.) is consistent with the thematic emphasis placed upon it in declamation; so too his emphasis upon the fratricidal nature of the civil war: Papirius Fabianus had expansively compared a domestic dispute with a civil conflict which pitted members of the same family against one another (Sen. *Contr.* 2.1.10; see also below §7 (c)).¹³³ The speeches to Caesar of Curio (273–91) and Laelius (359–86) reflect in a particularly strong manner the influence of declamatory rhetoric on *BC* in a number of ways. The setting of these speeches evokes *suasoriae* of the style 'Hannibal at the Alps' (and cf. Caesar as Hannibal in *BC*), or 'Alexander at Ocean':¹³⁴ they urge Caesar to act, and demonstrate how this action is consistent with the character of the great man. The presentation of Laelius' speech is, in effect, a variation on the philosophical *thesis* 'ought one to obey one's father in all things?' (cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 9.2; Sen. *Ep.*

¹³⁰ *declamauit et graece et latine cum magna admiratione audientium.*

¹³¹ *prosa oratio in Octauium Sagittam et pro eo.*

¹³² See Jal (1963) 303 with references.

¹³³ Narducci (2007) 389.

¹³⁴ Bloomer (2007) 301–4.

101.15; Quint. *Decl.* 257); the centurion merely substitutes his general for his father (and at 376, his obedience is demonstrated by the oath to kill his biological father). Indeed the introduction of Laelius' family obligations into his argument at 374–8—if only to reject them in the face of partisan loyalty—is consistent with the concern with familial obligations in *suasoriae*.¹³⁵ The paradox of obedience (and possible victory) in civil war and the competing ethical claims upon Laelius are also completely consistent with the development of this *thesis* in declamatory rhetoric.¹³⁶

(c) The Elder Seneca

The direct influence of the *Controversiae* and *Suasoriae* collated by the Elder Seneca on *BC* 1 is less prominent than the pervasive general influence of declamatory rhetoric on Lucan and his work. Porcius Latro, adopting Marius in Africa as an *exemplum* of the mutability of fortune, transitions back to the domestic context of his *controversia* at *Contr.* 1.1.3 *quid porro tam longe exempla repeto, tamquam domi desit?* Lucan forswears foreign and mythological *exempla* for his national history at lines 94–7 *nec gentibus ullis | credite nec longe factorum exempla petantur*. Latro's paradox at *Contr.* 1.8.1 *fugit me filius, et quidem ad hostem?* is transmuted in Lucan into a compressed version of the same basic paradox at 504 *in bellum fugitur*. Arellius Fuscus invokes Crassus as an *exemplum* at *Contr.* 2.1.7 *tu, Crasse, post euestigata illa fugitiuorum arma urbis Romanae diuitissimus ciuis, nunc apud Parthos egres sepulchro quoque*. Lucan again compresses the language of declamation at 11 *umbraque erraret Crassus inulta* (with note ad loc.). The rhetorical questions of Papirius Fabianus, treating civil wars at *Contr.* 2.1.10—*quae causa hominem aduersus hominem in facinus coegit? . . . quae tanta uos pestis, cum una stirps idemque sanguis sitis, quaeue furiae in mutuum sanguinem egere?*—are re-echoed in Lucan's proem at 8 *quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri?*, esp. 67–70 *fert animus causas tantarum expromere rerum, | immensumque aperitur opus, quid in arma furem | inpulerit*

¹³⁵ Bloomer (2007) 304.

¹³⁶ Bloomer (2007) 301.

populum, quid pacem excusserit orbi (cf. also 84, 158).¹³⁷ The appearance of Pyrrhus as an *exemplum* in *Contr.* 5.2 may also help contextualize Lucan's choice of Pyrrhus at line 30.

Further light is shed on Lucan's declamatory inheritance in the *Suasoriae*. The notion at *Suas.* 1.3 *Alexander orbi magnus est, Alexandro orbis angustus est*, has its sequel in *Luc.* 1.109–11 *diuiditur ferro regnum, populiue potentis, | quae mare, quae terras, quae totum possidet orbem, | non cepit fortuna duos*. Likewise, the rhetorical strategy of Lucan's Curio at 284–5 *bellantem geminis tenuit te Gallia lustris, | pars quota terrarum! facili si proelia pauca | gesseris euentu, tibi Roma subegerit orbem* is descended from the line of reasoning of Arellius Fuscus' Alexander at *Suas.* 4.3 *erit aliquis orbe toto locus qui te victorem non viderit? Babylon ei cluditur cui patuit Oceanus?* Lucan's frenzied *matrona* at 678–94 seems also to draw on the language and content of *Suas.* 6.6 *uidimus furentia toto orbe ciuilia arma, et post Italicas Pharsaliasque acies Romanum sanguinem hausit Aegyptus*.

8. LANGUAGE AND STYLE

A number of overviews of Lucan's style are available;¹³⁸ here comments will be restricted to those aspects pertaining to book one.

(a) Vocabulary

It is a common point of departure in discussions treating the characteristic features of Lucan's Latin to cite his preference for a muted, neutral, or prosaic vocabulary by comparison with earlier epic.¹³⁹ This tendency finds ample illustration in book one, where we find e.g. *mors* (129x; 4x in *BC* 1) favoured over *letum* (37x; once in *BC* 1);¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ See too Bonner (1966) 259.

¹³⁸ e.g. Mayer (1981) 10–21; Bramble (1982) 533–57; Fantham 34–46.

¹³⁹ For issues associated with the register of a particular poet's vocabulary, cf. Axelson (1945); the response of Williams (1968) 743–50; and the defence of Watson (1985).

¹⁴⁰ A more pronounced preference than in either Verg. *Aen.* or Ov. *Met.* Comparisons are drawn from Watson (1985) 442.

pilum (19x; 3x in *BC* 1) over *iaculum* (8x; once in *BC* 1); *caelum* (85x; 11x in *BC* 1) over *aer* (54x; 5x in *BC* 1), *aether* (40x; 8x in *BC* 1), and *polus* (31x; 3x in *BC* 1); *fessus* (19x; once in *BC* 1) over *lassus* (9x; 3x in *BC* 1); *lacertus* (27x; 5x in *BC* 1) over *bracchium* (9x). In addition to these preferences, there is a high frequency of specific terms from fields of human endeavour, such as the military or the law, technical terminology, and common words used in or evoking restricted, technical senses: *habitor*, *statio*, *foedus*, *iudex*, *iudicium*, *reus*, *descendere* (335 n.), *euocare*, *uindicare*, *couinnus*, *bracae*, *bardus*, *repetere* (451 n.), *turma*, *signa conferre*, *agger*, *uallum*, *canere*, *fibrae*, *seruare* (601 n.), *circumire*, *admouere* (608 n.). Note also the absence of such archaic forms in Lucan as the passive infinitive ending in *-ier*, *olle/ollus* for *ille*, first declension endings in *-ai*, *fuat* for *sit* (as at Verg. A. 10.108), or contractions of the kind *uixet* for *uixisset* (as at Verg. A. 11.118). So too in Lucan's innovations, the essential conservatism of his vocabulary is strongly felt. This can be observed in the following group of words and phrases found first in Lucan: *Lageus*, *uictricia signa*, *flammiger*, *gressum coercere*, *domus errans*, *euentus facilis*, *criniger*, *taurifer*, *Arsacidae*, *interceptus* (of human beings), *causa + dat.*, *miscere* 'melt', *meatus* (of tidal action), *carmina fundere*, *explicare* (of the earth 'to be spread out, to stretch, extend'; OLD 4c), *pendere* ('to be in a suspended state before falling'; OLD 7b), *Edōnis*, *statione peracta*, *infringere + cogn. acc.*, *moenia condita*, *Gallica rura*, *Suessones* (spelt thus), *atra Charybdis*. In sum, this muted palette and conservative approach to diction is supremely suited to and consistent with the bleak subject matter and narrative persona pervading the poem. This also contributes strongly to the diminished distance felt between subject matter and reader throughout the poem.¹⁴¹

It needs emphasis, however, that this general tendency is not a rule, and that Lucan can opt for poetic, elevated, archaic, or evocative diction over other alternatives (total frequency in *BC* is in brackets): *sonipes* (11x) is as common as *equus* (11x); *coniunx* (38x) is favoured over *uxor* (once); *parens* (34x) over *pater* (16x); *aequor* (114x) and *pelagus* (67x) over *mare* (60x), with *fretum* (23x) and *pontus* (49x) also frequent; *uentus* (46x) over *aura* (15x); *puppis* (75x), *ratis* (71x), and *carina* (49x) over *navis* (not in *BC*); *amnis* (35x) over *flumen* (20x) and *fluvius*

¹⁴¹ Martindale (1976) 52: 'in his chosen style ... he has few peers'; Mayer (1981) 20.

(17x); *Hesperia* (20x) over *Italia* (7x); *Magnus* (193x) over *Pompeius* (81x). Consider also the predilection for archaizing compound adjectives: *flammiger*, *semirutus*, *belliger*, *frugifer*, *turriger*, *aestifer*, *sonipes*, *pinifer*, *criniger*, *taurifer*, *uelifer*, *ensifer*, *nubifer*, and other evocative choices such as *praesagia*, *feralis*, *lues*, and *uorax*. Note that Lucan can even adopt archaic forms, such as *foret* for *esset*. Sometimes the prosaic choice is consistent with epic diction, as in the preference of *terra* (188x) over *tellus* (98x);¹⁴² *sanguis* (124x) over *cruor* (41x); *nauta* (19x) over *nauita* (5x); *dux* (171x) over *ductor* (8x).

Another commonly encountered tendency in book one is the substitution of a simple verb (or, less frequently, an adjective) where a compound might be expected in prose or would more precisely complete the sense of the construction. This tendency has the inevitable effect of diffusing the meaning of its phrase and exploits a variety of potentialities from commonly encountered words. Some examples from book one: 13 *potuit pelagique parari*: for *comparari*; 61 *pax missa per orbem*: for *emissa*; 120 *stimulos dedit*: for *subdidit*, *condidit*, *addidit*; 184 f. *ingentisque animo motus bellumque futurum | ceperat*: for *conceperat*; 235 *maestam tenuerunt nubila lucem*: for *retinuerunt* (cf. 283, 361); 327 *posuere furorem*: for *deposuere*; 338 *ultima Pompeio dabitur prouincia Caesar*: for *tradetur*; 354 *caede feras mentes*: for *efferas*; 372 *iussa sequi*: for *exsequi*; 399 *ductus*: of a river for *deductus*; 410 *funditur*: for *infunditur*; 514 *cum pressus ab hoste*: for *oppressus*; 543 f. *fugiente ... | sole*: for *refugiente*.

Overall, then, Lucan's vocabulary represents a mixture of high and low diction. This is perhaps most easily recognizable against the backdrop of the high-frequency words in *BC*. The following are words found in book one which appear more than 20 times in the rest of the poem (total frequency is in brackets): *bellum* (314), *terra* (188), *dux* (171), *unda* (147), *orbis* (132), *mors* (129), *aequor* (126), *sanguis* (124), *litus* (106), *tellus* (98), *regnum* (90), *superi* (i.e. *dei*) (86), *caelum* (85), *signa* (i.e. *aquilae*) (82), *ius* (75), *pauens* (56), *ensis* (54), *clades* (53), *uirtus* (52), *uentus* (46), *gladius* (45), *uiscus* (44), *cruor* (41), *lex* (41), *caedes* (39), *dirus* (38), *letum* (38), *maestus* (38), *pondus* (39), *amnis* (36), *ingens* (34), *tristis* (32), *lacertus* (24), *coniunx* (23), *flumen* (20), *Hesperia* (20).

¹⁴² Verg. *Aen.* 166x/51x; Ov. *Met.* 198x/94x.

(b) Word order

As with vocabulary, Lucan tends to take fewer advantages of the significant arrangement of words within the hexameter line than do Vergil or Ovid,¹⁴³ but this is not to say that significant effects arising from word order are absent from *BC* or book one. Very frequently arresting juxtapositions—often geographical, often ideological (often both at once)—are made of opposites, antagonists, and antitheses: 89 *terra fretum*, 91 *noxque diem*, 103 *Ionium Aegaeo*, 105 *Assyrias Latio*, 106 *Parthica Romanos*, 113 *Parcarum Iulia*, 118 *generos soceris*, 186 *duci patriae*, 203 *me tibi*, 266 *urbe tribunos*, 267 *curia Gracchis*, 277 *leges bello*, 311 *dux pace*, 312 *bella togatae*, 322 *milite leges*, 403 *Atax Latias*, 422 *Santonus hoste*, 464 *Romam Rhenique*, 672 *libera bello*. On occasion opposing elements at each end of the hexameter convey the same effect, as at 260 *rura...pontus*, 323 *Pompeiana...Milonem*; so too, the first words of consecutive lines can contrast emphatic antitheses as at 142 f. *tot...| sola*, 510 f. *o faciles...| difficiles*. A similar effect that is used very frequently in book one is enjambment, wherein emphasis is thrown on to the last (often shocking or paradoxical) words of a clause because they constitute the beginning of a new line: 7...| *signa*; 25...| *urbibus Italiae*; 29...| *Hesperia est*; 31...| *Poenus erit*; 38...| *hac mercede placent*; 39...| *inpleat*; 45...| *quod tibi res acta est*; 126...| *Pompeiusue parem*, 279...| *exilium*; 309...| *Gallorum populi*; 356...| *ductorisque metu*; 386...| *Roma sit*; 462...| *mortis*; 484...| *Romano spectante*; 504...| *in bellum fugitur*; 511...| *difficiles*; 513...| *humani*; 520...| *desereris*; 522...| *Pompeio fugiente timent*; 543...| *desperare diem*. Also frequently encountered in *BC* is the golden line, used to impart monumentality, elegance, or emphasis at the end of (usually extended) periods (40 n.).¹⁴⁴

(c) Syntax

Lucan's syntax is paratactic, indicative, cumulative, and compressed. His avoidance of subordinate clauses is marked, and when hypotaxis

¹⁴³ A convenient point of comparison is Harrison (1991) 288–90.

¹⁴⁴ On which: Wilkinson (1963) 215–17; Conrad (1965) 234–41.

is deployed, indicative constructions are more commonly encountered than those requiring the subjunctive mood. The cumulative effect of this preference for the indicative quickly becomes apparent to the reader; but it can only be adumbrated here (and somewhat crudely at that), in Lucan's almost exclusive preference for indicative temporal constructions (partly dictated by sequence: exceptions are at 538 and 540); in the scarcity of clauses of purpose and result (4 in book one) and in the tendency of the conjunctions *cum*, *dum*, and *ut* to appear in constructions with the indicative mood (12:5; 8:1; 12:2 respectively). Logical conditions are equally distributed with ideal and unfulfilled clauses throughout (11x each). Also, Lucan most frequently adopts the subjunctive mood in book one in independent jussive constructions (19x). Combined with independent deliberative and potential subjunctives, and with subjunctive apodoses of conditional sentences, these constitute almost a half of the subjunctive verbs in the book (30 out of 78).¹⁴⁵ The deceptive simplicity of Lucan's syntax and especially the paratactic nature of his expression put more interpretative pressure upon his readers, who must determine for themselves the relationship between his clauses.¹⁴⁶ This particular burden of interpretation is compounded by the accumulation of clauses within a typical sentence. Fantham suggests that the typical length of Lucan's sentences outside of speech and authorial comment tends to about three or four verses,¹⁴⁷ and this is generally borne out in book one; sentences in the proem average a little over four lines each. An example slightly longer than typical will illustrate this cumulative style (24–32):

at nunc | semirutis pendent QUOD moenia tectis
urbibus Italiae | lapsisQUE ingentia muris
saxa iacent | nulloQUE domus custode tenentur
| rarus ET antiquis habitator in urbibus errat,
| horrida QUOD dumis | multosQUE inarata per annos

¹⁴⁵ The fact that there are 18 subjunctive verbs in conditional sentences in *BC* 1 may mislead in its suggestion of hypotaxis, owing both to Lucan's tendency to multiply clauses in general and in that only 11 of these are protases, and therefore subordinate.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. O'Hara (1997) 247 on the clarity of Lucretian hypotaxis in comparison with Vergil's own paratactic style.

¹⁴⁷ Fantham 41–2.

Hesperia est | desuntQUE manus poscentibus aruis,
 | non tu, Pyrrhe ferox, | NEC tantis cladibus auctor
 Poenus erit; | nulli penitus descendere ferro
 contigit: | alta sedent ciuilis uolnera dextrae.

In the above example, the substantive *quod* clause begun at 24 is fragmented into seven smaller clauses of equal emphasis, with the initial *quod* repeated at 28. Throughout this repetition, the relationship between these smaller clauses is obscured. For example, the potential causal relationship between 26 f. *nulloque domus custode tenentur* | *rarus et antiquis habitator in urbibus errat* and the clauses which precede it at 24–6 is elided out of existence here and again at 29 *desuntque manus poscentibus aruis*, which also logically but not grammatically provides the cause for 28 f. *horrida quod dumis multosque inarata per annos* | *Hesperia est*. At line 30, the *quod* clause is revealed to be neither subject nor object of the verb (*OLD quod* 4a), but to be grammatically unrelated to the main sentence, and to function as loosely anticipatory of and appositive to the dative *tantis cladibus* (*OLD quod* 6a).

A more prominent example, but one perhaps too extreme to be used as a general guide would be the ‘search for expressive tension’ that informs the opening seven lines of the poem,¹⁴⁸ and which famously drew Fronto’s displeasure (*De Orationibus* 8) on the very grounds of excessive accumulation of clauses. In both cases mentioned here, the repetition is, of course, not redundant. The accumulation of clauses allows Lucan to examine one concept from a variety of angles and to shed light on multiple aspects of the same phenomenon. In 26–32, for example, the broad notion of Italy’s desertion is presented from a physical point of view which encompasses both domestic architecture (*pendent... moenia tectis*), and municipal defences (*lapsisque... muris*); from a human perspective which looks both to the absence of people within traditional familial roles (*nulloque domus custode tenentur*), as well as the broader depopulation of the towns (*rarus et antiquis habitator in urbibus*); from an agricultural perspective that engages with and negates golden age imagery (*inarata... | Hesperia*), and itself intimates the chronic nature of the crisis (*multos... per annos*). This self-inflicted nature

¹⁴⁸ Narducci (2007) 389.

of the disaster is then contextualized against two of the greatest enemies of the Roman republic, both of whom had invaded the Italian peninsula (30 f.).

Somewhat paradoxically, this expansive tendency to accumulate multiple clauses is offset by a general compression of expression. This compression is facilitated most frequently by Lucan's casting of information which might more regularly be encountered in a relative clause into more succinct (and often single word) structures, such as a participle, an adjective, or an adverbial phrase. Also relative to his compressed expression is his frequent use of the ablative absolute construction; the gerundive, either personally or impersonally; and ellipses of the verb. Some examples of Lucan's compressed style:

sed mihi iam numen; nec, si te pectore uates
accipio, Cirrhaea uelim secreta mouentem
sollicitare deum Bacchumque auertere Nysa:
tu satis ad uires Romana in carmina dandas. (63–6)

morte tua discussa fides bellumque mouere
permissum ducibus. (119–20)

sicut squalentibus aruis
aestiferae Libyes uiso leo comminus hoste
subsedit dubius, totam dum colligit iram; (205–7)

rupta quies populi, stratisque excita iuuentus
deripuit sacris adfixa penatibus arma
quae pax longa dabat; (239–41)

ignota obscurae uiderunt sidera noctes
ardentemque polum flammis caeloque uolantes
obliquas per inane faces crinemque timendi
sideris et terris mutantem regna cometen. (526–9)

(d) Hyperbole, paradox, and *sententiae*

Hyperbole, paradox, and the frequent use of *sententia* are fundamental characteristics of Lucan's language. All three are not infrequently intertwined in the same expression in *BC*. Martindale has demonstrated how the first two elements are intrinsic to and form a natural means of expressing Lucan's subject matter:¹⁴⁹ hyperbole and paradox

¹⁴⁹ Martindale (1976) remains the basic discussion; cf. esp. his comments at 46 f. 'We are not simply dealing with a linguistic phenomenon. As often as not Lucan's verbal paradoxes draw attention to the paradoxical nature of the events themselves.'

are especially interrelated in Lucan; they are driven by an intellectual astringency that forces the reader to think through the political and ideological implications of civil war via his or her grappling with paradox at the level of language. At the same time, Lucan's hyperbole serves a number of purposes, both poetic and political. It often activates gigantomachic imagery which helps evoke and subvert Vergil's own use of the image to track a progression from chaos to order.¹⁵⁰ Lucan's hyperbole as often provokes his reader—particularly in descriptions of the spatial and temporal impact of the civil war—to measure the literal meanings of words and phrases against the trope itself and in relation to its subject matter: in dealing with a geographical scope encompassing (or encompassed by) *imperium sine fine* and a political system resulting from the war that was likewise apparently limitless in time, Lucan's hyperbole is in many cases itself paradoxical: it both does and does not overstate the truth. In a sense, hyperbole in *BC* is often a self-conscious attempt to frustrate its own capacity to exaggerate,¹⁵¹ to express, as Henderson has noted in another context, the inexpressible.¹⁵² Some prominent and easily isolated examples of paradox in book one:

- 1 Bella . . . plus quam ciuilia
- 2 iusque datum sceleri
- 1–2 populumque potentem | in sua uictrici conuersum uiscera dextra
- 3 cognatasque acies
- 37–8 scelera ipsa nefasque | hac mercede placent
- 44 multum Roma tamen debet ciuilibus armis
- 98 mansit concordia discors
- 108 bellum uictis ciuile dedistis
- 109–11 populi que potentis | quae mare, quae terras, quae totum possidet orbem | non cepit fortuna duos
- 128 uictrix causa deis placuit
- 145 solusque pudor non uincere bello
- 258 non ausus timuisse palam
- 288–9 gentesque subactas | uix inpune feres
- 290–1 partiri non potes orbem, | solus habere potes
- 278–9 patimurque uolentes | exsilium

¹⁵⁰ On which see Hardie (1986).

¹⁵¹ Cf. Henderson (1988) 123 on 'the rhetoric of hyperbole which insists on its inadequacy to meaning'.

¹⁵² Henderson (1988) 135.

365 degenerem patiere togam regnumque senatus
 372 tam posse mihi quam uelle necesse est
 504 in bellum fugitur
 672 ciuili tantum iam libera bello

Lucan was recognized by Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.90) as *sententiis clarissimus*. The definition of the term is found at Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1349a19–1459a7), *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (2.21), and Quintilian (*Inst.* 2.8.5, 8.5.1–34):¹⁵³ it is a pithy, moralizing expression of a general truth or of popular wisdom. It was applied, according to Aristotle, for clinching arguments by introducing terms and opinions which the audience already recognized and with which they already agreed; he notes also the pleasure derived by the audience in hearing their own opinions elevated to the level of generally recognized premises (*Rhet.* 1394a–95b). These could be detached from their context and used as independent examples of moral advice or observation.¹⁵⁴ Under the influence of declamatory rhetoric, the application of the term *sententia* widens to encompass concise comments with specific bearing upon their immediate context, and might not necessarily express universal truths (cf. also Quint. *Inst.* 8.5.6, 15 on the *magis noua sententiarum genera*).¹⁵⁵ The term in Lucan encompasses both gnostic and non-gnostic examples. Bonner usefully classifies some strategies found within the figure in Lucan:¹⁵⁶ antithesis (as at 348 f., 510 f.), paradox (as at 503 f.), his placement of the figure at the terminal point of a speech, passage, or description (as at 128, 290 f.), the poetic currency derived from *ciuus* and related words (as at 32, 44 f., 279, 366, 373 f.), and brevity (as at esp. 81, 503 f.). Some examples of *sententiae* in book one:

32 alta sedent ciuilis uulnera dextrae.
 44–5 multum Roma tamen debet ciuilibus armis | quod tibi res acta est
 66 tu satis ad uires Romana in carmina dandas
 92–3 nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas | inpatiens consortis erit
 81 in se magna ruunt
 95 fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri
 97 exiguum dominos commisit asylum

¹⁵³ For *sententiae* in general see Bonner (1966) 260–2; Schaeffer (1990) 61–3.

¹⁵⁴ Bonner (1966) 260.

¹⁵⁵ Bonner (1966) 261.

¹⁵⁶ Bonner (1966) 262–9.

125–6 nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarue priorem | Pompeiusue
 parem
 128 uictrix causa deis placuit sed uicta Catoni
 202 ille erit ille nocens, qui me tibi fecerit hostem
 256–7 quotiens Romam fortuna lacessit, | hac iter est bellis
 279 tua nos faciet uictoria ciues
 281 semper nocuit differre paratis
 284–5 facili si proelia pauca | gesseris euentu, tibi Roma subegerit orbem
 289–91 socerum depellere regno | decretum genero est: partiri non potes
 orbem, | solus habere potes
 331–2 nullus semel ore receptus | pollutas patitur sanguis mansuescere fauces
 348–9 arma tenenti | omnia dat, qui iusta negat
 366 usque adeo miserum est ciuili uincere bello?
 372 iussa sequi tam posse mihi quam uelle necesse est
 373–4 nec ciuis meus est, in quem tua classica, Caesar, | audiero
 496–7 uelut unica rebus | spes foret adflictis patrios excedere muros
 503–4 sic urbe relicta | in bellum fugitur
 510–11 o faciles dare summa deos eademque tueri | difficiles

(e) Narrative voices

Aristotle has high praise for the unobtrusive narration employed in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (*Poet.* 1460a). He commends Homer's sparing use of authorial intrusion within his narrative (*αὐτὸν γὰρ δεῖ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐλάχιστα λέγειν*) and his rapid, efficient manner of moving from the introduction of a scene to the action it contains (*ὁ δὲ ὀλίγα φροιμισάμενος εὐθὺς εἰσάγει ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα ἢ ἄλλο τι ἦθος*). This style is clearly rejected in *BC*. In the *Iliad*, the plot has essentially begun at line 9, and we may reckon the beginning of the *Odyssey*'s narrative at line 11. In the *Aeneid*, the narrative launches us *in medias res* at line 34. But delay is the hallmark of Lucan's singer: a recurrent tactic within his epic, and especially in book one, is the establishment of narrative boundaries to the progress of his subject matter and chief protagonists, particularly to the lightning-like progress of Caesar (cf. Masters 1–10). In the apostrophe to the citizens of Rome (8–32), we encounter not only an example of one of the most prominent rhetorical features of Lucan's epic technique, but also the first of many devices which delay the commencement of Lucan's narrative proper until line 183.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ Marti (1975) 77, 82–4.

Apostrophe is employed extensively by the narrator throughout *BC*; much more so, in fact, than elsewhere in epic poetry. McRoberts offers up complete listings of this kind of apostrophe in epic poetry (as opposed to e.g. characters addressing each other in the vocative¹⁵⁸) up until Lucan: Hom. *Il.* 30x; Hom. *Od.* 15x; Ap. Rhod. 16x; Verg. *A.* 54x; Ov. *Met.* 99x; Luc. 155x; and cf. Stat. *Theb.* 91x.¹⁵⁹ Lucan has been criticized for transgressing 'good taste' by its over-employment.¹⁶⁰ The implications of its use have often been considered, and typical responses have been to cite the narrator's commitment to variation, his heightened emotional intensity and zeal, as well as his 'deep involvement in the action'.¹⁶¹ These responses certainly have their place in interpreting *BC*, but Culler's semiotic studies on the figure and Leigh's re-examination of its place within Lucan's poetry have led to a more nuanced understanding of what is meant by the response that they 'create pathos'. Consider Culler on the apostrophe:¹⁶²

... to apostrophize is to *will a state of affairs*, to attempt to call it into being by asking inanimate objects [or, in Lucan's case, abstract entities, historical events and the agents of their completion] to bend themselves to your desire. In these terms the function of the apostrophe would be to make the objects of the universe *potentially responsive forces*: forces which can be asked to act or refrain from acting...

That is to say, Lucan invests his past with sentient status. *BC*'s insistent deployment of the apostrophe speaks to its attempted enforcement of the most radical kind of suspension of disbelief imaginable. Asking the abstraction of Rome at lines 21–3 to refrain from doing what has already come to pass effects more than an underscoring of her culpability or of pathos in general. The momentary notion of another outcome for his poem—that it might be possible for the tensions of the late republic to resolve themselves by any other means than by civil war, or that it might be possible within the framework of poetic

¹⁵⁸ McRoberts (2005) defines his use of the term at 234–44 esp. 234 f.

¹⁵⁹ McRoberts (2005) 219–34.

¹⁶⁰ e.g. Duff (1928) vi; Getty lxi; cf. Henderson (1988) for the pointlessness of trying to reclaim Lucan for good taste.

¹⁶¹ e.g. Heitland lxxi; Duff (1928) vi; Getty lxi; Marti (1975); Walker (1996) 74; Hunink (1992) 99.

¹⁶² Culler (1981) 154.

<i>locus</i>	Roche	Housman	Getty	Shackleton Bailey
16	oris	horis	horis	oris
18	Scythico glacialem	Scythico glacialem	Scythicum glaciali	Scythicum glaciali
54	auersi	auersi	aduersi	auersi
89	in medio	in medio	in medium	in medio
101	mare	mare	male	mare
227	paci	satis his	fatis	satis his
229	et	et	it	et
234	seu	sed	seu	sed
282	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>	<i>retained</i>	<i>omitted</i>
304	transcenderet	transcenderit	transcenderet	transcenderet
328	secuntur	secuntur	sequuntur	secuntur
368	Libyae	Libyae	Libyes	Libyae
397	Vosegi	Vosegi	Vogesii	Vosegi
419	tum	tum	tum	tunc
420	Atyri	Atyri	Aturi	Aturi
432	Cinga	Cinga	Cinga	Cirta

446	non	non	quo	non
448	dimittitis	dimittitis	dimittitis	demittitis
453	datum	datum	datum est	datum
463	bellis	Belgis	bellis	Belgis
481	hunc	hunc	tunc	tunc
481	Albimque	Albimque	Alpemque	Albimque
538	orbe	orbe	ore	orbe
569	tum	tum	tum	tunc
615	dirum	dirum	nigrum	nigrum
623 f.	latet ... iacet	latet ... iacet	iacet ... latet	iacet ... latet
623	paruusque	paruusque	paruusque	prauusque
631	mouetis	mouetis	monetis	mouetis
636	et	et	et	aut
641	sequentibus	sequentibus	sequentibus	mouentibus
681	quo	quo	quot	quo

discourse to move towards any other state of resolution than principate—confronts the reader's own position on the poem's events and historical outcome (Leigh's central thesis). This need not be interpreted as simply a call to arms for his Neronian audience. Nevertheless, this interpretation clearly represents a provocation, a heightening of the awareness of *BC*'s reader and an attack upon passive complicity in the ideology of principate.

9. TEXT

The transmission of the text of Lucan is well established.¹⁶³ The text used for this commentary is based upon that of Housman's reading of manuscripts Z, M, P, G, U, and V. The preceding table shows differences in the text.

¹⁶³ See Housman v–xxxvi; Tarrant (1983) 215–18.

I

TEXT

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M. ANNAEI LVCANI DE BELLO CIVILI

LIBER PRIMVS

Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos
iusque datum sceleri canimus, populumque potentem
in sua uictrici conuersum uiscera dextra
cognatasque acies, et rupto foedere regni
certatum totis concussi uiribus orbis 5
in commune nefas, infestisque obuia signis
signa, pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis.
quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri?
gentibus inuisis Latium praebere cruorem
cumque superba foret Babylon spolianda tropaeis 10
Ausoniis umbraque erraret Crassus inulta
bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos?
heu, quantum terrae potuit pelagique parari
hoc quem ciuiles hauserunt sanguine dextrae,
unde uenit Titan et nox ubi sidera condit 15
quaque dies medius flagrantibus aestuat oris
et qua bruma rigens ac nescia uere remitti
astringit Scythico glaciale frigare pontum!
sub iuga iam Seres, iam barbarus isset Araxes
et gens siqua iacet nascenti conscia Nilo. 20
tum, si tantus amor belli tibi, Roma, nefandi,
totum sub Latias leges cum miseris orbem,
in te uerte manus: nondum tibi defuit hostis.

16 oris SB horis Ω auris Oudendorpius
20 iacet Ω latet van Jever

18 Scythico glaciale Ω –um –li V

at nunc semirutis pendent quod moenia tectis
 urbibus Italiae lapsisque ingentia muris 25
 saxa iacent nulloque domus custode tenentur
 rarus et antiquis habitator in urbibus errat,
 horrida quod dumis multosque inarata per annos
 Hesperia est desuntque manus poscentibus aruis,
 non tu, Pyrrhe ferox, nec tantis cladibus auctor 30
 Poenus erit; nulli penitus descendere ferro
 contigit: alta sedent ciuilis uulnera dextrae.
 quod si non aliam uenturo fata Neroni
 inuenere uiam magnoque aeterna parantur
 regna deis caelumque suo seruire Tonanti 35
 non nisi saeuorum potuit post bella gigantum,
 iam nihil, o superi, querimur; scelera ipsa nefasque
 hac mercede placent. diros Pharsalia campos
 inpleat et Poeni saturentur sanguine manes,
 ultima funesta concurrant proelia Munda, 40
 his, Caesar, Perusina fames Mutinaeque labores
 accedant fatis et quas premit aspera classes
 Leucas et ardenti seruilia bella sub Aetna,
 multum Roma tamen debet ciuilibus armis
 quod tibi res acta est.
 te, cum statione peracta 45
 astra petes serus, praelati regia caeli
 excipiet gaudente polo: seu sceptrum tenere
 seu te flammigeros Phoebi conscendere currus
 telluremque nihil mutato sole timentem
 igne uago lustrare iuuat, tibi numine ab omni 50
 cedetur, iurisque tui natura relinquet
 quis deus esse uelis, ubi regnum ponere mundi.
 sed neque in Arctoo sedem tibi legeris orbe
 nec polus auersi calidus qua uergitur Austri,
 unde tuam uideas obliquo sidere Romam. 55
 aetheris immensi partem si presseris unam,

26 tenentur ZMGC tenetur PUV 31 erit QC erat V descendere ZP dis-
 cendere M discindere Z²GUV 37 om. Z ipsa Z²GUV ista MP 50 iuuat
 Q iuuat PV 54 auersi Q aduersi UV

sentiet axis onus. librati pondera caeli
 orbe tene medio; pars aetheris illa sereni
 tota uacet nullaeque obstant a Caesare nubes.
 tum genus humanum positis sibi consulat armis 60
 inque uicem gens omnis amet; pax missa per orbem
 ferrea belligeri conpescat limina Iani.
 sed mihi iam numen; nec, si te pectore uates
 accipio, Cirrhaea uelim secreta mouentem
 sollicitare deum Bacchumque auertere Nysa: 65
 tu satis ad uires Romana in carmina dandas.
 fert animus causas tantarum expromere rerum,
 inmensumque aperitur opus, quid in arma furem
 inpulerit populum, quid pacem excusserit orbi.
 inuida fatorum series summisque negatum 70
 stare diu nimioque graues sub pondere lapsus
 nec se Roma ferens. sic, cum conpage soluta
 saecula tot mundi suprema coegerit hora
 antiquum repetens iterum chaos, [omnia mixtis
 sidera sideribus concurrent,] ignea pontum 75
 astra petent, tellus extendere litora nolet
 excutietque fretum, fratri contraria Phoebe
 ibit et obliquum bigas agitare per orbem
 indignata diem poscet sibi, totaque discors
 machina diuulsi turbabit foedera mundi. 80
 in se magna ruunt: laetis hunc numina rebus
 crescendi posuere modum. nec gentibus ullis
 commodat in populum terrae pelagique potentem
 inuidiam Fortuna suam. tu causa malorum
 facta tribus dominis communis, Roma, nec umquam 85
 in turbam missi feralia foedera regni.
 o male concordēs nimiaque cupidine caeci,
 quid miscere iuuat uires orbemque tenere
 in medio? dum terra fretum terramque leuabit
 aer et longi uoluent Titana labores 90

64 accipio MPV accipiam ZGU 74–5 omnia . . . concurrent *deleuit* Bentleyus
 77 excutiet Ω excipiet Hudson-Williams CR 2 (1952) 89 medio Ω –um UV

noxque diem caelo totidem per signa sequetur,
 nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas
 inpatiens consortis erit. nec gentibus ullis
 credite nec longe fatorum exempla petantur:
 fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri. 95
 nec pretium tanti tellus pontusque furoris
 tunc erat: exiguum dominos commisit asyllum.
 temporis angusti mansit concordia discors
 paxque fuit non sponte ducum; nam sola futuri
 Crassus erat belli medius mora. qualiter undas 100
 qui secat et geminum gracilis mare separat Isthmos
 nec patitur conferre fretum, si terra recedat,
 Ionium Aegaeo frangat mare, sic, ubi saeua
 arma ducum dirimens miserando funere Crassus
 Assyrias Latio maculauit sanguine Carrhas, 105
 Parthica Romanos soluerunt damna furores.
 plus illa uobis acie, quam creditis, actum est,
 Arsacidae: bellum uictis ciuile dedistis.
 diuiditur ferro regnum, populiue potentis,
 quae mare, quae terras, quae totum possidet orbem, 110
 non cepit fortuna duos. nam pignora iuncti
 sanguinis et diro ferales omine taedas
 abstulit ad manes Parcarum Iulia saeua
 intercepta manu. quod si tibi fata dedissent
 maiores in luce moras, tu sola furentem 115
 inde uirum poteras atque hinc retinere parentem
 armatasque manus excusso iungere ferro,
 ut generos soceris mediae iunxere Sabinae.
 morte tua discussa fides bellumque mouere
 permissum ducibus.
 stimulos dedit aemula uirtus. 120
 tu, noua ne ueteres obscurant acta triumphos
 et uictis cedat piratica laurea Gallis,
 Magne, times; te iam series ususque laborum
 erigit inpatiensque loci fortuna secundi:

nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarue priorem 125
 Pompeiusue parem. quis iustius induit arma
 scire nefas, magno se iudice quisque tuetur:
 uictrix causa deis placuit sed uicta Catoni.
 nec coiere pares. alter uergentibus annis
 in senium longoque togae tranquillior usu 130
 dedidicit iam pace ducem, famaеque petitor
 multa dare in uulgus, totus popularibus auris
 inPELLI plausuque sui gaudere theatri,
 nec reparare nouas uires, multumque priori
 credere fortunae. stat magni nominis umbra, 135
 qualis frugifero quercus sublimis in agro
 exuias ueteris populi sacrataque gestans
 dona ducum nec iam ualidis radicibus haerens
 pondere fixa suo est, nudosque per aera ramos
 effundens, trunco non frondibus efficit umbram, 140
 et quamuis primo nutet casura sub Euro,
 tot circum siluae firmo se robore tollant,
 sola tamen colitur. sed non in Caesare tantum
 nomen erat nec fama ducis, sed nescia uirtus
 stare loco, solusque pudor non uincere bello. 145
 acer et indomitus, quo spes quoque ira uocasset,
 ferre manum et numquam temerando parcere ferro,
 successus arguere suos, instare fauori
 numinis, inPELLens quidquid sibi summa petenti
 obstaret gaudensque uiam fecisse ruina, 150
 qualiter expressum uentis per nubila fulmen
 aetheris impulsu sonitu mundique fragore
 emicuit rupitque diem populosque pauentes
 terruit obliqua praestringens lumina flamma:
 in sua templa furit, nullaue exire uetante 155
 materia magnamque cadens magnamque reuertens
 dat stragem late sparsosque recolligit ignes.
 hae ducibus causae; suberant sed publica belli
 semina, quae populos semper mersere potentis.

namque, ut opes nimias mundo fortuna subacto 160
 intulit et rebus mores cessere secundis
 praedaeque et hostiles luxum suasere rapinae,
 non auro tectisque modus, mensasque priores
 aspernata fames; cultus gestare decoros
 uix nuribus rapuere mares; fecunda uirorum 165
 paupertas fugitur totoque accersitur orbe
 quo gens quaeque perit; tum longos iungere fines
 agrorum, et quondam duro sulcata Camilli
 uomere et antiquos Curiorum passa ligones
 longa sub ignotis extendere rura colonis. 170
 non erat is populus quem pax tranquilla iuuaret,
 quem sua libertas inmotis pasceret armis.
 inde irae faciles et, quod suasisset egestas,
 uile nefas, magnumque decus ferroque petendum
 plus patria potuisse sua, mensuraque iuris 175
 uis erat: hinc leges et plebis scita coactae
 et cum consulibus turbantes iura tribuni;
 hinc rapti fasces pretio sectorque fauoris
 ipse sui populus letalisque ambitus urbi
 annua uenali referens certamina Campo; 180
 hinc usura uorax audidumque in tempora fenus
 et concussa fides et multis utile bellum.
 iam gelidas Caesar cursu superauerat Alpes
 ingentisque animo motus bellumque futurum
 ceperat. ut uentum est parui Rubiconis ad undas, 185
 ingens uisa duci patriae trepidantis imago
 clara per obscuram uultu maestissima noctem
 turrigero canos effundens uertice crines
 caesarie lacera nudisque adstare lacertis
 et gemitu permixta loqui: ‘quo tenditis ultra? 190
 quo fertis mea signa, uiri? si iure uenitis,
 si ciues, huc usque licet.’ tum perculit horror
 membra ducis, riguere comae gressumque coercens
 languor in extrema tenuit uestigia ripa.

mox ait 'o magnae qui moenia prospicis urbis 195
 Tarpeia de rupe Tonans Phrygiiue penates
 gentis Iuleae et rapti secreta Quirini
 et residens celsa Latiaris Iuppiter Alba
 Vestalesque foci summique o numinis instar
 Roma, faue coeptis. non te furialibus armis 200
 persequor: en, adsum uictor terraue mariue
 Caesar, ubique tuus (liceat modo, nunc quoque) miles.
 ille erit ille nocens, qui me tibi fecerit hostem.'
 inde moras soluit belli tumidumque per amnem
 signa tulit propere: sicut squalentibus aruis 205
 aestiferae Libyes uiso leo comminus hoste
 subsedit dubius, totam dum colligit iram;
 mox, ubi se saeuae stimulauit uerbere caudae
 erexitque iubam et uasto graue murmur hiatu
 infremuit, tum torta leuis si lancea Mauri 210
 haereat aut latum subeant uenabula pectus,
 per ferrum tanti securus uulneris exit.
 fonte cadit modico paruisque inpellitur undis
 puniceus Rubicon, cum feruida canduit aestas,
 perque imas serpit ualles et Gallica certus 215
 limes ab Ausoniis disternat arua colonis.
 tum uires praebat hiems atque auxerat undas
 tertia iam grauido pluuiialis Cynthia cornu
 et madidis Euri resolutae flatibus Alpes.
 primus in obliquum sonipes opponitur amnem 220
 excepturus aquas; molli tum cetera rumpit
 turba uado faciles iam fracti fluminis undas.
 Caesar, ut aduersam superato gurgite ripam
 attigit, Hesperiae uetitis et constitit aruis,
 'hic' ait 'hic pacem temerataque iura relinquo; 225
 te, Fortuna, sequor. procul hinc iam foedera sunt;
 credidimus paci, utendum est iudice bello.'
 sic fatus noctis tenebris rapit agmina ductor

inpiger, et torto Balearis uerbere fundae
 ocior et missa Parthi post terga sagitta, 230
 uicinumque minax inuadit Ariminum, et ignes
 solis Lucifero fugiebant astra relicto.
 iamque dies primos belli uisura tumultus
 exoritur; seu sponte deum, seu turbidus Auster
 inpulerat, maestam tenuerunt nubila lucem. 235
 constitit ut capto iussus deponere miles
 signa foro, stridor lituum clangorque tubarum
 non pia concinuit cum rauco classica cornu.
 rupta quies populi, stratisque excita iuuentus
 deripuit sacris adfixa penatibus arma 240
 quae pax longa dabat: nuda iam crate fluentis
 inuadunt clipeos curuataque cuspide pila
 et scabros nigrae morsu robiginis enses.
 ut notae fulsere aquilae Romanaeque signa
 et celsus medio conspectus in agmine Caesar, 245
 deriguere metu, gelidos pavor occupat artus,
 et tacito mutos uoluunt in pectore questus.
 'o male uicinis haec moenia condita Gallis,
 o tristi damnata loco! pax alta per omnes
 et tranquilla quies populos: nos praeda furentum 250
 primaque castra sumus. melius, Fortuna, dedisses
 orbe sub Eoo sedem gelidaque sub Arcto
 errantisque domos, Latii quam claustra tueri.
 nos primi Senonum motus Cimbrumque ruentem
 uidimus et Martem Libyes cursumque furoris 255
 Teutonici: quotiens Romam fortuna lacescit,
 hac iter est bellis.' gemitu sic quisque latenti,
 non ausus timuisse palam: uox nulla dolori
 credita, sed quantum, uolucres cum bruma coercet,
 rura silent, mediusque tacet sine murmure pontus, 260
 tanta quies.

229 et Ω it PV 234 seu Ω sed Housman 246 gelidos M –us Ω
 247 tacito mutos Z(-i) MU –tos muto PGV 248 condita moenia V
 254 ruentem G furentem Ω 255 Libyes Ω Libyae M 260 tacet Ω iacet P

noctis gelidas lux soluerat umbras:
 ecce, faces belli dubiaeque in proelia menti
 urgentes addunt stimulos cunctasque pudoris
 rumpunt fata moras: iustos Fortuna laborat
 esse ducis motus et causas inuenit armis. 265
 expulit ancipiti discordes urbe tribunos
 uicto iure minax iactatis curia Gracchis.
 hos iam mota ducis uicinaque signa petentes
 audax uenali comitatur Curio lingua,
 uox quondam populi libertatemque tueri 270
 ausus et armatos plebi miscere potentes.
 utque ducem uarias uoluentem pectore curas
 conspexit 'dum uoce tuae potuere iuuari,
 Caesar,' ait 'partes, quamuis nolente senatu
 traximus imperium, tum cum mihi rostra tenere 275
 ius erat et dubios in te transferre Quirites.
 at postquam leges bello siluere coactae
 pellimur e patriis laribus patimurque uolentes
 exilium: tua nos faciet uictoria ciues.
 dum trepidant nullo firmatae robore partes, 280
 tolle moras: semper nocuit differre paratis.
 [par labor atque metus pretio maiore petuntur.]
 bellantem geminis tenuit te Gallia lustris,
 pars quota terrarum! facili si proelia pauca
 gesseris euentu, tibi Roma subegerit orbem. 285
 nunc neque te longi remeantem pompa triumphi
 excipit aut sacras poscunt Capitolia laurus:
 liuor edax tibi cuncta negat, gentesque subactas
 uix inpune feres. socerum depellere regno
 decretum genero est: partiri non potes orbem, 290
 solus habere potes.' sic postquam fatus, et ipsi
 in bellum prono tantum tamen addidit irae
 accenditque ducem, quantum clamore iuuatur
 Eleus sonipes, quamuis iam carcere clauso
 imineat foribus pronusque repagula laxet. 295
 conuocat armatos extemplo ad signa maniplos,

utque satis trepidum turba coeunte tumultum
 conposuit uultu dextraque silentia iussit
 'bellorum o socii, qui mille pericula Martis
 mecum' ait 'experti decimo iam uincitis anno, 300
 hoc cruor Arctois meruit diffusus in aruis
 uulneraque et mortes hiemesque sub Alpibus actae?
 non secus ingenti bellorum Roma tumultu
 concutitur, quam si Poenus transcenderet Alpes
 Hannibal: implentur ualidae tirone cohortes, 305
 in classem cadit omne nemus, terraque marique
 iussus Caesar agi. quid, si mihi signa iacerent
 Marte sub aduerso ruerentque in terga feroces
 Gallorum populi? nunc, cum fortuna secundis
 mecum rebus agat superique ad summa uocantes, 310
 temptamur. ueniat longa dux pace solutus
 milite cum subito partesque in bella togatae
 Marcellusque loquax et nomina uana Catones.
 scilicet extremi Pompeium emptique clientes
 continuo per tot satiabunt tempora regno? 315
 ille reget currus nondum patientibus annis,
 ille semel raptos numquam dimittet honores?
 quid iam rura querar totum suppressa per orbem
 ac iussam seruire famem? quis castra timenti
 nescit mixta foro, gladii cum triste micantes 320
 iudicium insolita trepidum cinxere corona
 atque auso medias perrumpere milite leges
 Pompeiana reum clausurunt signa Milonem?
 nunc quoque, ne lassum teneat priuata senectus,
 bella nefanda parat suetus ciuilibus armis 325
 et docilis Sullam scelerum uicisse magistrum.
 utque ferae tigres numquam posuere furorem,
 quas, nemore Hyrcano matrum dum lustra secuntur,
 altus caesorum pauit cruor armentorum,
 sic et Sullanum solito tibi lambere ferrum 330

304 transcenderet PGV –rit ZMU GLK 4.224 305 ualidae Ω –do GU
 313 catones Ω –is Z²GC –um M² 316 reget ΩC –it MU 317 dimittet ω –it
 ZMU 320 micantes ZP minantes Ω 322 om. G auso ΩC –um M

durat, magne, sitis. nullus semel ore receptus
 pollutas patitur sanguis mansuescere fauces.
 quem tamen inueniet tam longa potentia finem?
 quis scelerum modus est? ex hoc iam te, inprobe, regno
 ille tuus saltem doceat descendere Sulla. 335
 post Cilicasne uagos et lassi Pontica regis
 proelia barbarico uix consummata ueneno
 ultima Pompeio dabitur prouincia Caesar,
 quod non uictrices aquilas deponere iussus
 paruerim? mihi si merces erepta laborum est, 340
 his saltem longi non cum duce praemia belli
 reddantur; miles sub quolibet iste triumphet.
 conferet exanguis quo se post bella senectus?
 quae sedes erit emeritis? quae rura dabuntur
 quae noster ueteranus aret, quae moenia fessis? 345
 an melius fient piratae, Magne, coloni?
 tollite iam pridem uictricia tollite signa:
 uiribus utendum est quas fecimus. arma tenenti
 omnia dat, qui iusta negat. nec numina derunt;
 nam neque praeda meis neque regnum quaeritur armis: 350
 detrahimus dominos urbi seruire paratae.
 dixerat; at dubium non claro murmure uulguis
 secum incerta fremit. pietas patriique penates
 quamquam caede feras mentes animosque tumentes
 frangunt; sed diro ferri reuocantur amore 355
 ductorisque metu. summi tum munera pili
 Laelius emeritique gerens insignia doni,
 seruati ciuis referentem praemia quercum,
 'si licet,' exclamat 'Romani maxime rector
 nominis, et ius est ueras expromere uoces, 360
 quod tam lenta tuas tenuit patientia uires
 conquerimur. deratne tibi fiducia nostri?
 dum mouet haec calidus spirantia corpora sanguis
 et dum pila ualent fortes torquere lacerti,
 degenerem patiere togam regnumque senatus? 365

349 nec ZG neque Ω derunt ZM deerunt UV desunt PG 350 nam neque
 ZM nam nec ω 356 munera ZUV -re MPG 360 expromere Ω de- V

usque adeo miserum est ciuili uincere bello?
 duc age per Scythiae populos, per inhospita Syrtis
 litora, per calidas Libyae sitientis harenas:
 haec manus, ut uictum post terga relinqueret orbem,
 Oceani tumidas remo conpescuit undas 370
 fregit et Arctoo spumantem uertice Rhenum:
 iussa sequi tam posse mihi quam uelle necesse est.
 nec ciuis meus est, in quem tua classica, Caesar,
 audiero. per signa decem felicia castris
 perque tuos iuro quocumque ex hoste triumphos, 375
 pectore si fratris gladium iuguloque parentis
 condere me iubeas plenaque in uiscera partu
 coniugis, inuita peragam tamen omnia dextra;
 si spoliare deos ignemque inmittere templis,
 numina miscebit castrensis flamma monetae; 380
 castra super Tusci si ponere Thybridis undas,
 Hesperios audax ueniam metator in agros.
 tu quoscumque uoles in planum effundere muros,
 his aries actus disperget saxa lacertis,
 illa licet, penitus tolli quam iusseris urbem, 385
 Roma sit. his cunctae simul adsensere cohortes
 elatasque alte, quaecumque ad bella uocaret,
 promiserunt manus. ita tantus ad aethera clamor,
 quantus, piniferae Boreas cum Thracius Ossae
 rupibus incubuit, curuato robore pressae 390
 fit sonus aut rursus redeuntis in aethera siluae.
 Caesar, ut acceptum tam prono milite bellum
 fataque ferre uidet, nequo languore moretur
 fortunam, sparsas per Gallica rura cohortes
 euocat et Romam motis petit undique signis. 395
 deseruere cauo tentoria fixa Lemanno
 castraque quae Vosegi curuam super ardua ripam
 pugnaces pictis cohibebant Lingonas armis.
 hi uada liquerunt Isarae, qui, gurgite ductus

381 castra Ω signa Z
 PGV 394 om. P
 lingones ΩC

388 ad Ω in PV

397 uosegi UG²

389 piniferae ZMU nubiferae

uogesī ΩC

398 lingonas P

per tam multa suo, famae maioris in amnem 400
 lapsus ad aequoreas nomen non pertulit undas.
 soluuntur flauī longa statione Ruteni;
 mitis Atax Latias gaudet non ferre carinas
 finis et Hesperiae, promotō limite, Varus;
 quaque sub Herculeo sacratus nomine portus 405
 urguet rupe caua pelagus: non Corus in illum
 ius habet aut Zephyrus, solus sua litora turbat
 Circius et tuta prohibet statione Monoeci:
 quaque iacet litus dubium quod terra fretumque
 uindicat alternis uicibus, cum funditur ingens 410
 Oceanus uel cum refugis se fluctibus aufert.
 uentus ab extremo pelagus sic axe uoludet
 destituatque ferens, an sidere mota secundo
 Tethyos unda uagae lunaribus aestuet horis,
 flammiger an Titan, ut alentes hauriat undas, 415
 erigat Oceanum fluctusque ad sidera ducat,
 quaerite, quos agitat mundi labor; at mihi semper
 tu, quaecumque moues tam crebros causa meatus,
 ut superi uoluere, late. tum rura Nemetis
 qui tenet et ripas Atyri, qua litore curuo 420
 molliter admissum claudit Tarbellicus aequor,
 signa mouet, gaudetque amoto Santonus hoste
 et Biturix longisque leues Suessones in armis,
 optimus excusso Leucus Remusque lacerto,
 optima gens flexis in gyrum Sequana frenis, 425
 et docilis rector monstrati Belga couinni,
 Aruernique ausi Latio se fingere fratres
 sanguine ab Iliaco populi, nimiumque rebellis
 Neruius et caesi pollutus foedere Cottae,
 et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, bracis 430
 Vangiones, Batauique truces, quos aere recuruo
 stridentes acuere tubae; qua Cinga pererrat

404 limite Ω milite PU 405 nomine MPG numine ZUVC 416 ducat
 MPVC tollat ZGU 419 late Z²MP -es GU 420 atyri M aturis
 G saturi uel sim. Z²UV -ris ZPC aturi Gelsomino (1961) 655 427 latio ZM
 -ios PV -iis GU 429 foedere M(G)U sanguine ZPV 430-5 deleuit
 Schrader 432 cinga ΩC circa Gelsomino (1961) 654 f.

gurgite, qua Rhodanus raptum uelocibus undis
 in mare fert Ararim, qua montibus ardua summis
 gens habitat cana pendentes rupe Cebennas. 435
 tu quoque laetatus conuerti proelia, Treuir, 441
 et nunc tonse Ligur, quondam per colla decore
 crinibus effusis toti praelate Comatae,
 et quibus inmitis placatur sanguine diro
 Teutates horrensque feris altaribus Esus 445
 et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae.
 uos quoque, qui fortes animas belloque peremptas
 laudibus in longum uates dimittitis aeuum,
 plurima securi fudistis carmina, Bardi.
 et uos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum 450
 sacrorum, Dryadae, positis repetistis ab armis.
 solis nosse deos et caeli numina uobis
 aut solis nescire datum; nemora alta remotis
 incolitis lucis; uobis auctoribus umbrae
 non tacitas Erebi sedes Ditisque profundi 455
 pallida regna petunt: regit idem spiritus artus
 orbe alio; longae, canitis si cognita, uitae
 mors media est. certe populi quos despicit Arctos
 felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
 maximus haut urguet leti metus. inde ruendi 460
 in ferrum mens prona uiris animaeque capaces
 mortis, et ignauum rediturae parcere uitae.
 et uos, crinigeros bellis arcere Caycos
 oppositi, petitis Romam Rhenique feroces
 deseritis ripas et apertum gentibus orbem. 465
 Caesar, ut immensae conlecto robore uires
 audendi maiora fidem fecere, per omnem
 spargitur Italiam uicinaque moenia conplet.
 uana quoque ad ueros accessit fama timores

436–40 *uersus interpolatos non habent* Ω
 448 *demittitis* Z² *demittis* P *dimittitis* Ω
 453 *datum* PG *datum est* ZV *datur* MU
 463 *bellis* Ω *belgis* Bentleius

443 *comatae* ΩC *cometae* GVC
 451 *dryadae* ZM *dria* VPUC
 455 *profundi* Ω *profundo* P

inrupitque animos populi clademque futuram 470
 intulit et uelox properantis nuntia belli
 innumeras soluit falsa in praeconia linguas.
 est qui tauriferis ubi se Meuania campis
 explicat audaces ruere in certamina turmas
 adferat, et qua Nar Tiberino inlabitur amni 475
 barbaricas saeui discurrere Caesaris alas;
 ipsum omnes aquilas conlataque signa ferentem
 agmine non uno densisque incedere castris.
 nec qualem meminere uident: maiorque ferusque 480
 mentibus occurrit uictoque inmanior hoste.
 hunc inter Rhenum populos Albimque iacentes
 finibus Arctois patriaque a sede reuolsos
 pone sequi, iussamque feris a gentibus urbem
 Romano spectante rapi. sic quisque pauendo
 dat uires famae, nulloque auctore malorum 485
 quae finxere timent.

nec solum uulgus inani
 percussum terrore pauet, sed curia et ipsi
 sedibus exiluere patres, inuisaque belli
 consulibus fugiens mandat decreta senatus.
 tum, quae tuta petant et quae metuenda relinquant 490
 incerti, quo quemque fugae tulit impetus urgent
 praecipitem populum, serieque haerentia longa
 agmina prorumpunt. credas aut tecta nefandas
 corripuisse faces aut iam quatiente ruina
 nutantes pendere domos, sic turba per urbem 495
 praecipiti lymphata gradu, uelut unica rebus
 spes foret adflictis patrios excedere muros,
 inconsulta ruit. qualis, cum turbidus Auster
 reppulit a Libycis immensum Syrtibus aequor
 fractaque ueliferi sonuerunt pondera mali, 500
 desilit in fluctus deserta puppe magister
 nauitaeque et nondum sparsa conpage carinae

470–2 om. P 481 hunc GU nunc MP tunc ZVC albim van Jever alpem Ω
 alpes Z²C 490 tum a tunc ΩC 491 urgent s –et Ω 499 inmen-
 sum Ω inuersum Bentleius

naufragium sibi quisque facit, sic urbe relicta
 in bellum fugitur. nullum iam languidus aeuo
 eualuit reuocare parens coniunxue maritum 505
 fletibus, aut patrii, dubiae dum uota salutis
 conciperent, tenuere lares; nec limine quisquam
 haesit et extremo tunc forsitan urbis amatae
 plenus abit uisu: ruit inreuocabile uulgu.
 o faciles dare summa deos eademque tueri 510
 difficiles! urbem populis uictisque frequentem
 gentibus et generis, coeat si turba, capacem
 humani facilem uenturo Caesare praedam
 ignauae liquere manus. cum pressus ab hoste
 clauditur externis miles Romanus in oris, 515
 effugit exiguo nocturna pericula uallo,
 et subitus rapti munimine caespitis agger
 praebet securos intra tentoria somnos:
 tu tantum audito bellorum nomine, Roma,
 desereris; nox una tuis non credita muris. 520
 danda tamen uenia est tantorum danda pauorum:
 Pompeo fugiente timent.

tum, nequa futuri
 spes saltem trepidas mentes leuet, addita fati
 peioris manifesta fides, superique minaces
 prodigiis terras inplerunt, aethera, pontum. 525
 ignota obscurae uiderunt sidera noctes
 ardentemque polum flammis caeloque uolantes
 obliquas per inane faces crinemque timendi
 sideris et terris mutantem regna cometen.
 fulgura fallaci micuerunt crebra sereno, 530
 et uarias ignis denso dedit aere formas,
 nunc iaculum longo, nunc sparso lumine lampas.
 emicuit caelo tacitum sine nubibus ullis
 fulmen et Arctois rapiens de partibus ignem
 percussit Latiare caput, stellaeque minores 535
 per uacuum solitae noctis decurrere tempus

505 -ue PGV -que ZMU

tenso ΩC

534 de ZM e Ω

507 conciperent Ω -et s

531 denso GV

in medium uenere diem, cornuque coacto
 iam Phoebe toto fratrem cum redderet orbe
 terrarum subita percussa expalluit umbra.
 ipse caput medio Titan cum ferret Olympo 540
 condidit ardentis atra caligine currus
 inuoluitque orbem tenebris gentesque coegit
 desperare diem; qualem fugiente per ortus
 sole Thyesteae noctem duxere Mycenae.
 ora ferox Siculae laxauit Mulciber Aetnae, 545
 nec tulit in caelum flammas sed uertice prono
 ignis in Hesperium cecidit latus. atra Charybdis
 sanguineum fundo torsit mare; flebile saeui
 'atrauere canes. Vestali raptus ab ara
 ignis, et ostendens confectas flamma Latinas 550
 scinditur in partes geminoque cacumine surgit
 Thebanos imitata rogos. tum cardine tellus
 subsedit, ueteremque iugis nutantibus Alpes
 discutere niuem. Tethys maioribus undis
 Hesperiam Calpen summumque inpleuit Atlanta. 555
 indigetes fleuisse deos, urbisque laborem
 testatos sudore Lares, delapsaque templis
 dona suis, dirasque diem foedasse uolucres
 accipimus, siluisque feras sub nocte relictis
 audaces media posuisse cubilia Roma. 560
 tum pecudum faciles humana ad murmura linguae,
 monstrosique hominum partus numeroque modoque
 membrorum, matremque suos conterruit infans;
 diraque per populum Cumanae carmina uatis
 uulgantur. tum, quos sectis Bellona lacertis 565
 saeua mouet, cecinere deos, crinemque rotantes
 sanguineum populis ulularunt tristia Galli.
 compositis plenae gemuerunt ossibus urnae.
 tum fragor armorum magnaeque per auia uoces
 auditae nemorum et uenientes comminus umbrae. 570
 quique colunt iunctos extremis moenibus agros

538 orbe Ω ore V

ZMV -ei PGU

566 mouet Ω monet PG

569 tum s tunc Ω magnae Ω uariae PU

567 sanguineum

diffugiunt: ingens urbem cingebat Erinys
excutiens pronam flagranti uertice pinum
stridentisque comas, Thebanam qualis Agauen
inpulit aut saeui contorsit tela Lycurgi 575
Eumenis, aut qualem iussu Iunonis iniquae
horruit Alcides uiso iam Dite Megaeram.
insonuere tubae et, quanto clamore cohortes
miscentur, tantum nox atra silentibus auris
edidit. e medio uisi consurgere Campo 580
tristia Sullani cecinere oracula manes,
tollentemque caput gelidas Anienis ad undas
agricolae fracto Marium fugere sepulchro.
haec propter placuit Tuscos de more uetusto
acciri uates. quorum qui maximus aeuo 585
Arruns incoluit desertae moenia Lucae,
fulminis edoctus motus uenasque calentis
fibrarum et monitus errantis in aere pinnae,
monstra iubet primum quae nullo semine discors
protulerat natura rapi sterilique nefandos 590
ex utero fetus infaustis urere flammis.
mox iubet et totam pauidis a ciuibus urbem
ambiri et festo purgantes moenia lustrum
longa per extremos pomeria cingere fines
pontifices, sacri quibus est permissa potestas. 595
turba minor ritu sequitur succincta Gabino,
Vestalemque chorum ducit uittata sacerdos
Troianam soli cui fas uidisse Mineruam.
tum, qui fata deum secretaque carmina seruant
et lotam paruo reuocant Almone Cybeben, 600
et doctus uolucres augur seruare sinistras
septemuirque epulis festus Titique sodales
et Salius laeto portans ancilia collo
et tollens apicem generoso uertice flamen.

577 Megaeram Ω –an Korrtē 578 insonuere Ω intonuere PU 579
auris ZMG umbris PUV 583 fracto marium PGU marium fracto
ZMV 587–8 motus et monitus *inter se transponenda*: Graevius 588 erran-
tis ω uolitantis ZM 600 cybeben ZM cybelen Ω 602 festus Ω festis s

dumque illi effusam longis anfractibus urbem 605
 circumeunt Arruns dispersos fulminis ignes
 colligit et terrae maesto cum murmure condit
 datque locis numen; sacris tunc admouet aris
 electa ceruice marem. iam fundere Bacchum
 coeperat obliquoque molas inducere cultro, 610
 inpatiensque diu non grati uictima sacri,
 cornua succincti premerent cum torua ministri,
 deposito uictum praebebat poplite collum.
 nec cruor emicuit solitus, sed uulnere laxo
 diffusum rutilo dirum pro sanguine uirus. 615
 palluit attonitus sacris feralibus Arruns
 atque iram superum raptis quaesiuit in extis.
 terruit ipse color uatem; nam pallida taetris
 uiscera tincta notis gelidoque infecta cruore
 plurimus asperso uariabat sanguine liuor. 620
 cernit tabe iecur madidum, uenasque minaces
 hostili de parte uidet. pulmonis anhel
 fibra latet, paruusque secatur uitalia limes.
 cor iacet, et saniem per hiantis uiscera rimas
 emittunt, produntque suas omenta latebras. 625
 quodque nefas nullis inpune apparuit extis,
 ecce, uidet capiti fibrarum increscere molem
 alterius capitis. pars aegra et marcida pendet,
 pars micat et celeri uenas mouet improba pulsu.
 his ubi concepit magnorum fata malorum 630
 exclamat 'uix fas, superi, quaecumque mouetis,
 prodere me populis; nec enim tibi, summe, litau
 Iuppiter, hoc sacrum, caesique in pectora tauri
 inferni uenere dei. non fanda timemus,
 sed uenient maiora metu. di uisa secudent, 635
 et fibris sit nulla fides, sed conditor artis
 finxerit ista Tages.' flexa sic omina Tuscus

608 numen ZMP nomen GUV 612 om. P 614 laxo ωC largo ZM 615
 dirum ZMV nigrum PGUC 623–4 latet et iacet inter se transponenda: van
 Jever 623 paruusque Ω prauusque SB 631 mouetis Ω monetis V
 633 pectora PUV pectore ZM uiscera G 636 et Ω aut SB 637 omina
 PGU omnia ZMV

inuoluens multaque tegens ambage canebat.
 at Figulus, cui cura deos secretaque caeli
 nosse fuit, quem non stellarum Aegyptia Memphis 640
 aequaret uisu numerisque sequentibus astra,
 'aut hic errat' ait 'nulla cum lege per aeuum
 mundus et incerto discurrunt sidera motu,
 aut, si fata mouent, urbi generique paratur
 humano matura lues. terraene dehiscent 645
 subsidentque urbes, an tollet feruidus aer
 temperiem? segetes tellus infida negabit,
 omnis an infusis miscebitur unda uenenis?
 quod cladis genus, o superi, qua peste paratis
 saeuitiam? extremi multorum tempus in unum 650
 conuenere dies. summo si frigida caelo
 stella nocens nigros Saturni accenderet ignis,
 Deucalioneos fudisset Aquarius imbres
 totaque diffuso latuisset in aequore tellus.
 si saeuum radiis Nemeaeum, Phoebe, Leonem 655
 nunc premeres, toto fluerent incendia mundo
 succensusque tuis flagrasset curribus aether.
 hi cessant ignes. tu, qui flagrante minacem
 Scorpion incendis cauda chelasque peruris,
 quid tantum, Gradiue, paras? nam mitis in alto 660
 Iuppiter occasu premitur, Venerisque salubre
 sidus hebet, motuque celer Cyllenius haeret,
 et caelum Mars solus habet. cur signa meatus
 deseruere suos mundoque obscura feruntur,
 ensiferi nimium fulget latus Orionis? 665
 inminet armorum rabies, ferrique potestas
 confundet ius omne manu, scelerique nefando
 nomen erit uirtus, multosque exhibit in annos
 hic furor. et superos quid prodest poscere finem?
 cum domino pax ista uenit. duc, Roma, malorum 670

639 at A²GUV ad PC aut ZM 641 sequentibus Bentleius mouenti-
 bus Ω 642 cum ZMV sine cum A sine Z²A²PGUC sub s 644 urbi
 ΩC orbi PU 646 an tollet ω attollet ZM 648 infusis ΩC eff- ZM
 664 -que Ω -ue SB 667 manu Ω manus C

continuum seriem clademque in tempora multa
extrahe ciuili tantum iam libera bello.'

terruerant satis haec pauidam praesagia plebem,
sed maiora premunt. nam, qualis uertice Pindi
Edonis Ogygio decurrit plena Lyaeo,

675

talis et attonitam rapitur matrona per urbem
uocibus his prodens urgumentem pectora Phoebum:
'quo feror, o Paeon? qua me super aethera raptam
constituisti terra? uideo Pangaea niuosis

680

cana iugis latosque Haemi sub rupe Philippos.
quis furor hic, o Phoebe, doce, quo tela manusque
Romanae miscent acies bellumque sine hoste est.

quo diuersa feror? primos me ducis in ortus,
qua mare Lagei mutatur gurgite Nili:

hunc ego, fluminea deformis truncus harena
qui iacet, agnosco. dubiam super aequora Syrtim
arentemque feror Libyen, quo tristis Enyo

685

transtulit Emathias acies. nunc desuper Alpīs
nubiferae colles atque aeriam Pyrenen

abripimur. patriae sedes remeamus in urbis,
inopiaque in medio peraguntur bella senatu.

690

consurgunt partes iterum, totumque per orbem
rursus eo. noua da mihi cernere litora ponti

telluremque nouam: uidi iam, Phoebe, Philippos.'

haec ait, et lasso iacuit deserta furore.

695

681 quo PG qu(a)e Ω quod G²

687 enyo PVC erynis Ω

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II

COMMENTARY

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COMMENTARY

1–7 THE PROEM

The poet announces his theme, civil war, and lists its consequences.

Classical literary criticism and Lucan's proem

The expectations of classical literary criticism were clear regarding the structure and function of the epic proem (cf. Feeney (1982) ad Sil. 1.1–20). Aristotle contended (*Rh.* 1415a) that the proem should provide a sample, or foretaste, of the argument (δείγμα... τοῦ λόγου). Its purpose was to keep the audience from remaining in suspense and to prevent the poem itself from beginning amid any vagueness which might be confusing (τὸ γὰρ ἀόριστον πλανᾷ). In this way, the reader/listener could grasp quickly and be eager to follow the argument of the poem. A certain circularity informs the logic behind these rules because, in determining these structures and their functions, Aristotle was himself quantifying the opening lines of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; that is, Homer's epics contain them and therefore they are what epic should contain. Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.48) endorsed Aristotle's reading. He recognized the formative influence of Homer upon epic structure and identified a tripartite division of the proem:

age uero (sc. Homerus) non utriusque operis ingressu in paucissimis uersibus legem prohemiorum non dico seruauit sed constituit? nam et beniuolum auditorem inuocatione dearum quas praesidere uatibus creditum est et intentum proposita rerum magnitudine et docilem summa celeriter comprehensa facit.

This structure and its practical application were expressed categorically by Servius (A. 1.8):

sane in tres partes diuidunt poetae carmen suum: proponunt, inuocant, narrant. plerumque tamen duas res faciunt et ipsam propositionem miscent inuocationi, quod in utroque opere Homerus facit: namque hoc melius est.

In the opening seven lines of *BC*, aspects of its participation in this tradition are clear. The *propositio* is certainly represented in the declaration of the poem's subject at 1 *bella . . . plus quam ciuilia*. But the proem is more remarkable for the epic conventions it omits than those it observes. From a purely structural point of view, the opening seven lines contain no *inuocatio*; nor is there a *narratio* in the sense established by Quintilian and Servius (it is replaced by the invocation of the emperor at 33–66; the notion of emperor as muse is made explicit at 64–6). The genre of historical epic does not provide an explanation for the omission of the invocation. Conte (1966) 46 f. argued that *BC*'s proem contains no invocation because the details of so recent an event will have been familiar to both singer and audience. This contention is based on the analogy that Homer invokes the help of the muses because of the remote antiquity of the story he is recounting (cf. *Il.* 2.492); but the argument from genre does not hold. Choerilus' epic account of the Persian invasion of Greece dealt with a comparably recent historical event, and there is a clear indication (in the subject of the imperative phrase ἤγεό μοι) that his account contained an invocation in its proem (Feeney 264–7; *contra* Ziegler (1966) 24–8, 67; Clinard (1967) 19; Misgeld (1968) 29 f.): fr. 1a ἤγεό μοι λόγον ἄλλον, ὅπως Ἀσίας ἀπὸ γαίης | ἦλθεν εἰς Εὐρώπην πόλεμος μέγας. Enn. *Ann.* 1 Sk. *musae, quae pedibus magnum pulsatis Olympum* suggests the same at the outset of Latin historical epic (see Skutsch (1985) 142–7 for its position; cf. Hinds (1998) 58 for the possibility of an invocation of the muses in Naevius' *Bellum Punicum*). The absence of a traditional *inuocatio* is easier to reconcile with the epic's portrayal of the gods: it may be that *BC*'s first intimation of its inscrutable divine machinery lies in the fact that the traditional muses are not invoked in the proem.

The absence of a *narratio* is demonstrable by comparison with the proems of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil. The *Odyssey* (for the *Iliad*, see below) gives a fairly detailed summary of its hero's character

and his outlook; it also declares the point from which the narrative will start and hints at the poem's resolution (*Od.* 1.1–9; de Jong (2001) 5–7). The opening sentence of the *Argonautica* provides a summary of its plot: the route and purpose of the Argo's voyage (*Argon.* 1.2–4; for its place within the epic tradition: Levin (1971) 9–12; Hunter (1993) 119–21; DeForrest (1994) 37–9; Pietsch (1999) 66 f.). The *Aeneid*'s proem is remarkably compressed: information is conveyed concerning its hero's origin and his destination, his wanderings and their cause, his battles and their purpose, and the historical significance of his success (*A.* 1.1–7; Austin (1971) 26 f.; Lebek 18–20). The *Metamorphoses* breaks from this tradition: its diffuse material complicates the opportunity for a *narratio* that expands beyond its proposition. Instead, we observe an invocation and an indication of the temporal limit(lessness) of Ovid's *carmen* (*Met.* 1.4; Bömer (1969–86) 11–15 esp. 12; Anderson (1996) 150–2).

BC exhibits no *δεῖγμα*, no *narratio*. After the initial declaration of its subject (1 *bella . . . plus quam ciuilia*), we are instead provided with seven (or possibly eight: 6 n.) broad restatements of this concept: (i) *ius datum sceleri*; (ii) *populum potentem in sua . . . conuersum uiscera*; (iii) *cognatas acies*; (iv) *certatum totis . . . uiribus orbis*; (v) *obuia signis signa*; (vi) *pares aquilas*; (vii) *pila minantia pilis*. There has been a great deal of scholarly effort to reconcile this innovation with the traditional epic proem, and a welcome by-product of this effort is a clearer understanding of Lucan's transformation of the epic genre, the preoccupations of his text, and the characteristics of his narrative technique.

The proem and its epic models

Many interpretive explanations for *BC*'s proem have evolved out of trying to prove its authenticity. The dispute arose from statements in Suetonius (*Vita Luc.* 13), the biographer derived from him (found in manuscript U), and *Comm. Bern.* on line 1, which all claim authorship of the first seven lines for Seneca at Lucan's request, upon the latter's deathbed. The matter of Lucan's authorship is now resolved (it is at any rate historically impossible given the dates of their respective suicides) and individual lines of the commentary will

reveal some of the (textual) evidence gathered in support of a single author of proem and poem. Nevertheless, this controversy has intermittently provided stimulus to re-examine how the proem integrates with the rest of the text and how the first seven lines interact with their epic models, in particular, the *Aeneid* and the *Iliad*.

First the *Aeneid*. Malcovati (1951) 102 f. demonstrated the interaction of *BC* with its epic inheritance in its adoption in line 1 of what she argued was the standard opening rhythm of Latin epic, viz. – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – || – – – – ∪ ∪ – –. It is a rhythm employed by Vergil, Ovid, and Lucan in the opening lines of their respective epics and, after them, by Silius and in Statius' *Achilleid*. She also noted a correspondence between the proems of Lucan and Vergil, in that both are of seven lines and completed by a question at line 8. The most detailed work on *BC*'s structural debt to the *Aeneid*, though, remains Lebek 18–36. He argued that Lucan did not turn from Vergil's incorporation of Homeric themes in his *propositio* of *arma uirumque* to privilege *arma/bella*. Instead, the two subjects are equally represented in the themes *Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia* (1) and *populumque potentem | in sua uictrici conuersum uiscera dextra* (2–3); they form a more expansive take on the Vergilian movement from *res* to *homines*, that is, from the subject to its personal ramifications. The shorter clauses, *iusque datum sceleri* (2) and *cognatasque acies* (4), were interpreted as bringing out the inherent absurdity of each of the longer sentences they follow. To Lebek's interpretation, we may add that the third combination of kolon and kommata (4–6)

et rupto foedere regni
certatum totis concussi uiribus orbis,
in commune nefas

reveals the proem ascending through tricolon clauses of theme and implication until line 6, where this sequence is capped by a dense reduction of the war to the weapons with which it will be fought. Lebek revealed that *BC*'s antithetical viewpoints (a tendency of the poem that Masters esp. 1–10, 87–90, 214 f. exploited in his promotion of the text at war with itself) are present from the very beginning of the poem. The subject, *bella*, is confronted by its own paradox in the adjectival phrase *plus quam ciuilia*. The poet sings of a

populus potens but one *conuersus in sua uiscera*. The outcome of the battle fought with all the resources of the world is *in commune nefas*. Lebek read a double *propositio*: *bella populusque*, a literal declaration of the poem's heroes. Beyond the proem itself, he contended, inquiry concerning a traditional hero was automatically redundant. Finally, he argued for a correspondence between the clause *rupto foedere regni* (4) and the *Aeneid*'s *Iunonis ob iram* (1.4), in which Lucan replaces a divine prime mover with a political/historical agent of cause (Lebek 33–5). Lebek's reading of the kolon and kommata sequence of Lucan's proem can be extended into three, programmatic, statements of intent which re-echo throughout the text of *BC*: civil war, suicide, and universal guilt.

The proem also declares a relationship with the *Iliad*. In his attempt to reclaim Lucan's authorship of the first seven lines from 'separatist', Conte (1966) 44–7 demonstrated the structural and thematic affiliations between *BC* and the proem of the *Iliad*. He began with its *exordium* of seven lines, and its transitional question at line 8, but there are further similarities: in each case, a *propositio* (*μῆνις/bella*) and a verb of singing (*ᾄδειν/canimus*) followed by 'the terrible and deadly consequences' of that theme. He emphasized Lucan's adaptation of the Homeric paradigm. Thus, Hom. *Il.* 1.1–7 contains an invocation of the muses, the legendary conflict between two of mythology's greatest heroes, the fallout from this conflict, an insistence upon the 'innumerable' and the 'great', an emphasis upon the magnitude of the event, the presence of anthropomorphic gods, and the preservation of an epic distance by the narrator. *BC*'s beginning exhibits no illusion of heroism in the Homeric sense; no promise of glorious deeds, of the *κλέα ἀνδρῶν* alluded to in the *Iliad*'s proem; no apparent gods, helpful or destructive; and (as we have seen) no invocation of a muse. Conte also noted an absence of the relative clause or participial construction which traditionally defines the subject in the epic proem. Instead, it is replaced by the consequences of its theme, one after the other: *que... que... que... et... que... et*: the parataxis emphasizes and accumulates (for formalists, defamiliarizes: e.g. Scholes (1974) 83–5; Berman (1988) 133–5) in the incisive, broken, and sententious narrative voice which establishes itself from the outset of the poem.

Redfield's (2001) reading of the *Iliad*'s proem also helps to illuminate the similarities between *BC* and its original model. He stressed the generality (i.e. information which is non-plot specific) following Homer's *propositio* and the fundamental use of parataxis in the opening sentence. Moreover, in the Homeric *exordium* the frame of reference continually expands: single hero—living community—human dead—the animal world—god. This tendency for expansion and parataxis is also felt very strongly in Lucan. But unlike the proem of the *Iliad*, *BC* neither particularizes the focus of its subject in any way, nor (unlike the proem of the *Odyssey*) lays emphasis upon the uniqueness of any particular individual as convention dictated. The focus upon a single event or person or aspect of the subject is a means of giving unity to a mass of often disparate mythological or historical material and provides a platform from which the poet might universalize the experience of one man (Kirk (1985) 53; Pulleyn (2000) 115). *BC* rejects this restriction of the subject within the proem. Instead, it insistently expands the geographical scope of its narrative and the implications of its subject: 1–6 *Emathios... campos—populum potentem—totis uiribus orbis*.

This tendency to expansion is programmatic. There are a number of examples throughout book one in which the scope of the subject—geographical, temporal, consequential—is continually enlarged to emphasize the universal ramifications of the civil war. A further implication of the proem's refusal to refine its subject from historical event to a participant or episode from that event is the decentralization of human protagonists from the narrative. This is, again, indicative of a wider tendency of the text. It stems from *BC*'s confrontation of earlier, historical models for its subject matter, in particular Caesar's commentaries (see Henderson (1988) 135–41; Feeney 273 f.; Masters 24). The narrator need not (and does not) remain tied to the actions of Caesar, Pompey, or Cato and, in fact, large portions of *BC*'s narrative exclude each of its central figures.

Though they are not mutually exclusive, there is nevertheless an antithetical tension between the paradigms established by Homer in the *Odyssean propositio*, ἀνὴρ and the *Iliad*'s μῆνις. *BC* parades a stronger affinity with the latter by its first word. The choice is again relevant to the nature of Lucan's epic, inasmuch as the *Odyssey* relates the successful homecoming of the hero and a return to the stability

that was disrupted at the outset of its narrative. By contrast, the action of the *Iliad* is overshadowed by the impending death of Achilles and his cognizance of this fact. It is dominated by the grief that is his particular prerogative. It culminates in his summation of the universe as one in which joy is never unalloyed with grief, but grief is often unallayed by joy, and in which good deeds may go unrewarded (*Il.* 24.527–33) but transgression is always punished (*Il.* 24.601–17). Thus *BC* advertises an epic trajectory that suggests tragic consequences from the first word of the poem.

The exchange between *BC*'s opening sequence and those of the *Iliad* and *Aeneid* reveals much about the manner in which it confronts its epic inheritance. It exploits existing literary paradigms to forge new meaning. It recasts, and thereby reinvigorates, the established structures of its genre. We encounter in the first seven lines of Lucan an *Iliad* with no hero and no promise of glory. It poses as an *Aeneid*, but one with no homecoming, and which sings of state suicide rather than national origins. The proem, like the *Iliad*'s, continually widens its focus. But there is no diminuendo in Lucan. Homer returns us from his most expansive point in line 5, in which he had included the gods themselves within the framework of his narrative, to the dual in line 6, to two men. Finally he shifts from the accusative of the hero's act—the subject of his song—to conclude in the nominative singular, *δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς*, the hero as actor in the epic (Redfield (2001) 476). Lucan leaves us trailing off at the point of world war and universal guilt in lines 5 f., and caps the proem in compressed, paratactic, repetition (one of the rhetorical hallmarks of the proem) of the same scene from three conceptual viewpoints at 6 f. *infestisque obuia signis | signa, pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis*.

The narrator revealed

The narrative voice which establishes itself at 1–7 confirms Quintilian's (*Inst.* 10.1.90) judgement, *ardens et concitatus*. It is a voice at once hyperbolic (*plus quam ciuilia; certatum totis uiribus orbis*), accumulative, repetitive, and expansive. It eschews epic distance for close-range narrative, rejects divine motivation in favour of political and historical causation, and sings of paradoxes (*ius datum sceleris*;

cognatas acies): it depersonalizes its subject and defamiliarizes an audience steeped in Augustan civil-war imagery. It is in the presentation of this narrative persona that Lucan is most patently iconoclastic towards the conventions of his chosen genre.

Intertextual imagery in the proem

Calpurnius Siculus—most likely writing bucolic poetry at the court of Nero in the mid 50s (for issues on dating Calpurnius: Horsfall (1997) 166–96)—included in his first poem a graphic and arresting description of Bellona devouring herself since the Roman state was now under the protection of Nero's divine authority (*Ecl.* 1.46–50):

dum populos deus ipse reget, dabit impia uictas
post tergum Bellona manus spoliataque telis
in sua uesanos torquebit uiscera morsus
et modo quae toto ciuilia distulit orbe
secum bella geret.

In constructing this image, the poet was drawing upon two important passages from the *Aeneid* which treat national stability and the threat of civil war. The first occurs in book one, where Jupiter assures a distraught Venus of the historical destiny of her son's mission. He unrolls before her the secrets of the fates to reveal Augustus returning the Golden Age to Latium after civil bloodshed (*A.* 1.291–6):

aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis:
cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis
claudentur belli portae: Furor impius intus
saeua sedens super arma et centum uinctum aënis
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.

Note that Jupiter does not prophesy an *end* to *impius furor*, merely its containment (Perkell (1999) 44). Even if we take Jupiter at his word (that this is in fact the fate of Aeneas and not a ploy to pacify Venus), the threat of civil war still exists: it roars within the very walls of

Rome and is contained only by the efforts of the *princeps* himself. At a later point in the narrative of the *Aeneid* (6.826–33), Anchises in the underworld reveals to his son the souls of the unborn Roman great and admonishes two of *BC*'s main protagonists, Caesar and Pompey:

illae autem paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis,
concordes animae nunc et dum nocte prementur,
heu quantum inter se bellum, si lumina uitae
attigerint, quantas acies stragemque ciebunt,
aggeribus socer Alpinis atque Monoeci
descendens, gener aduersis instructus Eois!
ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella
neu patriae ualidas in uiscera uertite uiris;

The old man's reprimand of Caesar and Pompey is framed on one side by praise of those Romans who put personal interests aside for the sake of national stability: Brutus, the Decii, the Drusi, Torquatus, and Camillus (*A.* 6.817–25); and on the other by praise of those who subdued Rome's *external* enemies: Memmius and Paullus (*A.* 6.836 f.). The abnormality of Pompey and Caesar's self-destructive behaviour is exposed by the comparison.

Lucan exploits these images of civil war at 2 f. *populumque potentem | in sua uictrici conuersum uiscera dextra*. Consider the two side by side:

in sua uesanos || torquebit uiscera morsus (Calp. *Ecl.* 1.48)
- U U - - - || - - - - U U - -
in sua uictrici || conuersum uiscera dextra (Luc. 1.3)

The personification of their respective abstract entities, as well as vocabulary, rhythm, and alliteration, advertise the connection with Calpurnius' imagery of Bellona; while the idiom of turning (*uertere/conuertere*) *in sua uiscera* recalls Anchises' prohibition. The interpretive issue at stake in this allusion is that Lucan begins with Anchises' worst fear for the future state of Rome. We encounter a narrative in *BC* where Bellona is no longer confined within the walls of her temple, but is let loose upon the Roman world, like the massive *Erinys* who hovers over Rome at 572–5. Later, Lucan's text will invert Calpurnius' image further, when he declares at 33–8 that

this state of war, which is Nero's purpose to contain, is in fact the precondition of his supremacy:

quod si non aliam uenturo fata Neroni
 inuenere uiam, magnoque aeterna parantur
 regna deis caelumque suo seruire Tonanti
 non nisi saeuorum potuit post bella Gigantum,
 iam nihil, o superi, querimur; scelera ipsa nefasque
 hac mercede placent.

For some implications of this paradox, see Introd. §1(d). Here, note the manner in which *BC* confronts and exploits the epic canon it inherited and the motifs of Neronian court literature to create the ominous imagery of its remarkable opening sequence.

1 **bella**: naturally among the most frequently used words in *BC* (314x; book one: 37x).

Emathios... campos: already the narrative movement away from Italy is marked, in contrast to the opening lines of the *Aeneid*. The adjective strictly refers to Macedonia, but it became a metrically useful and evocative term for Thessaly with special reference to Pharsalus (*OLD* 1b; Lyne (1978) on *Ciris* 34; Mayer (1986) 49). This collocation is repeated in *BC* at 6.620 and 9.1044 f.; cf. the variation 7.794 *Emathiam... terram* and the periphrasis at 8.43 and 9.15 *Emathiae campos*. It is drawn from Ov. *Met.* 5.313 f. *Emathiis... | ...campis*; though more relevant is Verg. *G.* 1.491 f. *nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro | Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos*. The adjective was cited by Malcovati (1951) 104 as evidence for a single author of 1.1–7 and the rest of the poem (23x in *BC*; the other evidence was 5 *certatum*; the arrangement of adjectives and nouns at 3 (viz. abVAB, 'carissimo a Lucano'); 6 *in commune nefas* with *in* as purpose; 6 *nefas*).

plus quam... ciuilia: the theme of transgressing boundaries or limits is representative of Lucan's epic subject matter, imagery, and narrative technique. *plus quam ciuilia* may have been coined by Pollio in his histories (Martindale (1984) 77 n. 23 working back from Tac. *Ann.* 1.12.4); there is no need to posit Livy as the original source (Lintott (1971) 493); cf. the clear adaptation at Flor. *Epit.* 2.13.4 *adeo ut non recte tantum ciuile dicatur, ac ne sociale quidem, sed nec*

externum, sed potius commune quoddam ex omnibus et plus quam ciuile bellum (there is likewise no need for a common source for both Florus and Lucan, as *per* Pichon 70: Westerberg (1882) was correct).

This paradoxical use of *plus quam* enters epic at Ov. *Met.* 12.583 *plus quam ciuilitas iras*, 13.451 *femina*, of Polyxena (cf. Bömer (1969–86) ad loc. ‘ungewöhnliche Steigerung’; Hopkinson (2000) ad loc.). In Lucan it ‘challenges readers to name this excess, this *plus quam*’ (Henderson (1988) 135). One response to this challenge has been to state that *BC* treats more than the destruction of the *res publica* by a single party because the state is, in effect, committing suicide: the central paradox of victory in civil war (Due (1962) 117; Lintott (1971) 493). Another is to cite the marriage pact struck between Caesar and Pompey (Haskins, Getty; Ahl 313; Martindale (1976) 47: ‘the horror of the war [is] symbolized by the relationship of the two main antagonists as *socer* and *gener*’). This response has its origins in two passages: Sen. *Phoen.* 354 f. *non satis est adhuc | ciuile bellum: frater in fratrem ruat* and Flor. *Epit.* 2.13 (circular, since the passage is indebted to *BC*). *socer* and *gener*, their conflict is *plus quam ciuilia* because it takes place between members of the same family. This reading of the phrase finds ample support from the text, and introduces one of the poem’s dominant images, the breakdown or inversion of normal family relations. Perhaps the most extravagant example of this inversion occurs in the oath of Laelius to Caesar at 374–8, but the text offers many other examples: 95, Romulus and Remus set a fratricidal paradigm; 2.148–51, brothers, fathers, sons, and members of the same household kill each other during the proscriptions; 2.349–80, Cato remarries his own recently widowed ex-wife in a bizarre inversion of the traditional Roman wedding ceremony; 3.8–35, Julia hounds her ex-husband from beyond the grave; 3.22 and 8.90, Cornelia is portrayed as the cursed companion of Pompey and the ex-wife of Crassus; 10.53–106, Caesar’s relationship with the foreign queen Cleopatra (Ahl 228 f.; Henderson (1988) 135; Fantham on 2.148–51).

The use of the phrase also reveals a wider application of the theme of transgression. There is certainly a preoccupation with the crossing of geographical boundaries within the text. The first line of actual narrative at 183 announces that Caesar has already crossed the natural border of Italy. In the scene that develops from this introduction, the image of Rome accosts the troops and their

general. She forbids his transgression of the political border, the Rubicon: *'huc usque licet'*, she enjoins, to which Caesar replies *'en adsum... ubique'*. The river is crossed and the war begins. Caesar's insistence upon his ubiquity is indicative of another aspect of *BC*'s obsession with geographical transgression: *per plus quam Emathios... campos* deliberately distorts and misreads the first line, but it could be *BC*'s motto with regard to transcending the mere physical location of the final battle. On a literal level, Lucan's narrative transcends Emathian battles, as books eight, nine, and ten treat events after Pharsalus. The narrative reinforces that the implications of its conflict are universal, that this is a world war, and one whose consequences no one will escape. Henderson (1988) 125 summarizes:

As you read of Julius Caesar's pursuit of mastery spiralling through the world, from Rubicon to Brundisium to Spain to Brundisium via Pharsalus to Egypt, come to understand that the 'Emathian' battlefields of the poem's project were only *concretely* to be identified with the plains of Thessaly where Pompey the Great was defeated in book 7; *conceptually*, the battle functions as the threshold for the transformation of the Roman world into a new, absolutist empire on the model of Alexander the Great.

One manifestation of this symbolism that transcends the geographical scope of the poem has been observed in the immediate and repeated expansion of the scope of the poem (see *Intro.* 1–7), but the geographical focus of the text continues to widen throughout book one and beyond.

Of course, Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon is not merely a geographical transgression. The metapoetic implications of this scene have been established: Caesar bringing war into his fatherland mirrors the poet entering upon the composition of an epic, and the confrontation between the ephebe and his patriarchal poetic models (Bloom (1973) 49–73; Masters 5–10; Walker (1996) 69 f.). So too, the phrase illustrates the wider moral and ethical boundaries that have been crossed in order to launch an attack upon one's *patria*. This idea of ethical or moral transgression, especially as it applies to duty towards the fatherland, re-echoes throughout book one. There is a concentrated meditation upon this theme in the causes of the war enumerated by the narrator. While Crassus is alive, the triumvirs struggle to observe the boundaries of their own pact of tyranny

(84–93). The Roman people reject any limitation placed upon wealth (163). The extension of *latifundia* combines the motifs of geographical and moral transgression (167–70). The protagonists desire to transcend the fatherland in power (174 f.).

2 iusque datum sceleri: ‘legality imposed upon criminality’. It perhaps recasts Verg. *G.* 1.506 *tam multae scelerum facies* (Thompson and Bruère (1968) 1) but cf. esp. Sen. *Ep.* 18.1 *ius luxuriae publice datum est* (Lejay). At root may lie a sardonic inversion of Verg. *A.* 6.852 *pacique imponere morem. ius* (75x in *BC*) is the first of many legal words, phrases, and allusions to feature in the poem; others in book one are *lex* (41x), *iudex* (9x), *iudicium* (1x), *reus* (2x), and *uindicare* (10x); on these terms: Kenney (1969) 241–63 esp. 253. The word *scelus* is charged in this context and has long-standing associations with civil war: Verg. *Ecl.* 4.13; *G.* 1.506 (above, this note); Hor. *Epod.* 7.1 f., 17 f.; *Carm.* 1.2.29 f. The notion of legal authority is another thematic preoccupation of the text; it is especially prominent in book one, and finds treatment and variation throughout the book: 126–8 *quis iustius induit arma | scire nefas: magno se iudice quisque tuetur*; | *uictrix causa deis placuit sed uicta Catoni*; 175 f. *mensuraque iuris | uis erat*, (and the illustration at 178–80); 203, where Caesar implies that he will make Pompey guilty by defeating him: *ille erit ille nocens, qui me tibi fecerit hostem*; at 227, the concept of *ius datum sceleri* makes an absurdity of Caesar’s exclamation ‘*utendum est iudice bello*’. Curio ‘sells’ the legitimizing power of Caesar’s crime to him at 279, when he proclaims ‘*tua nos faciet uictoria ciues*’. Caesar emphasizes the lawlessness with which Pompey retained his authority at 318–23. At the end of book one, a devastating restatement of the theme is put in the mouth of the astrologer Figulus at 666–70.

populumque potentem: the *populus Romanus* in *BC* is, at the outset of the text and most frequently throughout, qualified by the adjective *potens* (here, 83, 109, 159). Next most often they are characterized as *furens* (68 f., 2.249) and *praeceps* (492, 8.93). The progression of adjectives and participles applied to the *populus Romanus* throughout *BC* is indicative of their dislocation from power to servitude traced by the text. In order, it is *potens*, then *furens*, *pauens* (153), *praeceps*, *lucens* (2.236), *ad iuga faciles* (2.314), *pronior in Magnum* (2.453), *comitans* (Magnus into exile at 2.730), *nocens* (4.193), *precans* (to

Caesar that he take up the office of dictator at 5.382), *fauens* (Magnus: 7.13), *in caede natans* (7.294), and *tabens* (7.823); after Pharsalus, it is *sitiens* (9.509); the last characterization of the *populus Romanus* is that it is *Pompei nomen amans* (9.1050). These references exclude the *populus Romanus* of the generation of proscriptions; this is *degener* (2.116) and *periens* (2.195).

3 in sua uiscera: for the phrase cf. Verg. *A.* 6.833; Calp. *Ecl.* 1.48 (see introd. 1–7). *BC* is obsessed by suicide. That civil war is self-inflicted death is a theme that is explored early and often in the poem, and results in many of its most extreme (and perennially criticized) images. At 155 [Caesar as lightning bolt] *in sua templa furit*; at 205–12, the simile of Caesar as a lion that is roused to commit suicide accompanies his crossing of the Rubicon, and emphasizes the connection between the war and self-inflicted death (Masters 2 n. 5). The act and imagery of suicide is usually associated with Caesarian forces throughout the text, but not exclusively. At 498–504, the *Pompeiani* fleeing from Rome towards war are compared to sailors who jump overboard during a storm: each man makes his own shipwreck (*naufragium sibi quisque facit*). From these beginnings the theme unfolds: at 2.154–9, Sulla's proscribed victims anticipate their end by suicide and deprive the victor of their deaths; 3.237–43, the narrator interjects to laud the Indian penchant for self-immolation; 3.349–55, the Massilians threaten to re-enact the mass suicide of Saguntum if they are not allowed to exist as neutral ground for possible negotiation between the two generals; 2.431, Caesar, again symbolically, commits himself to suicidal behaviour in the despoliation of the sacred grove, which his soldiers fear to carry out because they believe that their own axes will turn against them if they strike at the trees. Book three climaxes in the sea battle, where the Massilians are killed—*ictu uicta suo*—and which degenerates into a scene of virtual mass suicide (521–762, esp. 635–46, 730–51; cf. Masters 37 f.). Book four develops the imagery to its extreme at 474–581, in the mass suicide of Vulteius' troops (cf. Saylor (1990); Leigh 259–64; Gorman (2001) 280–2). Scaeva's *deuotio* contains many elements of suicidal imagery, including his exhortations to his comrades to break their enemy's weapons with their breasts and dull their blades with their throats (6.160 f.; cf. Gorman (2001) 277–9). At Pharsalus the

theme is revisited: 7.490 f. *odiis solus ciuilibus ensis | sufficit et dextras Romana in uiscera ducit*. After Pharsalus the theme of state suicide seems to yield to (or perhaps is embodied in) Pompey's betrayal and death. For the cultural and literary contexts of Roman suicide see Hill (2004) esp. 213–36, which deals specifically with the phenomenon in Lucan.

uiscera: Serv. A. 6.253 *quicquid inter ossa et cutem est. uiscus* is a recurrent word in *BC* (44x; cf. Verg. A. 12x); in over half of these cases the accusative *uiscera* occupies this *sedes*.

4 cognatasque acies: 'kindred battle lines'. Cf. Verg. G. 1.490 *Romanas acies*; Man. 1.906 *ciuilis etiam motus cognataque bella*; Sen. Oed. 738 *agmina campos cognata tenent*; after Lucan: Stat. Theb. 1.1 *fraternas acies*. It is not just a symbolic extension of the idea of state suicide but a literal phenomenon. It receives extensive treatment at 4.169–253, when Petreius' troops and Caesar's advance party camp within eyesight of each other near Ilerda in Spain. Each legionary recognizes family members and kinsmen in the other camp and so the soldiers dare a physical reunion (Petreius reproaches them for their behaviour, and rouses them again to enmity and bloodshed). At 7.320–5, Caesar exhorts his men not to let recognition of family members dissuade them from striking; and at 7.460–9 sons and brothers do recognize each other in opposing ranks at Pharsalus, during the initial exchange of javelins (explored by Leigh 46–50). Throughout *BC* familial recognition is not enough to avert the impulse or compulsion towards mutual slaughter.

4–5 et rupto foedere regni | certatum totis concussi uiribus orbis: cf. Verg. G. 1.510 f. *uicinae ruptis inter se legibus urbes | arma ferunt; saeuit toto Mars impius orbe*; A. 11.313 *toto certatum est corpore regni* (Thompson and Bruère (1968) 2).

4 rupto foedere regni: 'with the covenant of tyranny broken', i.e. with the dissolution of the triumvirate. *regnum* is 'tyranny' (*OLD* 3): the word and its cognates are emotionally and ideologically charged (cf. Liv. 27.19.4; Cic. Rep. 1.66), and frequently deployed in *BC* (90x). For this essentially oxymoronic (as at 125–6) phrase, cf. Verg. G. 4.492 f. *immitis rupta tyranni | foedera. foedere regni* is a line ending again at 86.

5 **certatum totis concussi uiribus orbis**: cf. Verg. *A.* 7.222–4 *quanta per Idaeos saeuus effusa Mycenis | tempestas ierit campos, quibus actus uterque | Europae atque Asiae fatis concurrerit orbis*; Thompson and Bruère (1968) 2 note the symmetry of the allusion to the Trojan and civil wars: ‘the first formed the prologue to the Roman national drama, the second brought about its catastrophe’. *concussi orbis* first intimates the cataclysmic and ekpyrotic imagery associated with the war, to be taken up explicitly at 72–80.

certatum: the use of the neuter participle as a substantive, a forerunner of *OLD certatus*; the use is repeated at 70 and 462.

uiribus orbis: cf. [Sen.] *Oct.* 518; the line ending is repeated at 4.145 and 5.37.

concussi...orbis: this notion foreshadows one of the poem’s dominant images, ruination, especially architectural ruination. In book one, we find full exploration of the theme at 24–6; 70–2; 81; 383 f. [Laelius to Caesar] *tu quosquaque uoles in planum effundere muros | his aries actus disperget saxa lacertis*; 493–5; 552 f., a variation on the theme: the Earth sinks down on its own axis; 553 f., the Alps dislodge snow from their peaks as an omen of civil war; 582 f., another variation: the ghost of Marius smashes its own sepulchre to rise from the dead. That *orbis* is so frequent a word in *BC* (132x; 77x in all of Vergil) is relevant to the poem’s promotion of the war’s global and universal ramifications. The phrase is adapted at [Sen.] *Oct.* 518 *concussus orbis uiribus magnis ducum*.

6 **in commune nefas**: *in* expresses purpose (*OLD* 22a; 306 n.). *nefas* is another key word of the poem (53x; 19x in all of Vergil). Lucan exploits the idea of the universal guilt of his opponents to reduce the ideological differences espoused by the parties—among other things, personal *dignitas* versus *res publica* (*dignitas*: Caes. *Civ.* 1.4.4, 7.8–8.1. *Res Publica*: Hirt. *Gal.* 8.52.5; Plut. *Pomp.* 59; Cass. Dio 40.64.4; App. *B Civ.* 2.31.120)—to nothing. The two sides in civil war are equally guilty, a point which is made explicit here, and at 2.242–323 esp. 319–22 in the exchange between Brutus and Cato. The most extensive illustration of *in commune nefas* in the poem is at 2.67–233 in the extended treatment of the civil war between Marius and Sulla, where the opposing sides are reduced to a zero degree of difference in a

passage attributing identical actions to both victorious parties (see Fantham 90–3). The suggestion is also subtly underscored at 2.74 in the attribution of Sulla's cognomen, *felix*, to Marius, his supposed antithesis (Henderson (1988) 129).

O'Donnell (1978) has suggested punctuation to create an eighth, independent object clause in asyndeton dependent upon *canimus*; cf. 2.390 *in commune bonus*; and the adaptation at Stat. *Achil.* 1.668 f. *iam commune nefas*.

6–7 *infestisque obvia signis | signa, pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis*: alliteration imparts an archaic ring to this line, while polyptoton serves to emphasize the common origin of the two armies, demonstrated by their identical weaponry; on the personification of the weapons here see Hübner (1972) 581 n. 2. The narrator will intervene at 2.472–7 to reiterate this point by commenting upon the transferral of troops between the enemies Caesar and Pompey. Wills (1996) 194–9 has remarked that this rhetorical figure is often employed in poetic battle narratives ‘to evoke a recognition of similarity since an antagonist is a type of mirror’. In the present case, however, the effect is to underscore the *exact equivalence* of the enemies (as at e.g. Aesch. *Sept.* 674 f. ἀρχοντί τ’ ἀρχων καὶ κασιγνήτω κάσις, | ἐχθρὸς σὺν ἐχθρῷ στήσσομαι). In this respect, the absurdity of lines 4 f. is illustrated: the paradox of *cognatae acies* is given concrete demonstration, and the theme of state suicide moves from the personification of an abstract concept (*totis... uiribus orbis*) to the tangible means that will bring this process to completion.

Comm. Bern. compares Enn. *Ann.* 582 Sk. *pila retunduntur uenientibus obuia pilis*, which is probably drawn from the early stages of a battle narrative (contenders are Alba or Magnesia: Skutsch (1985) ad loc.). The fact that it appears in *BC* and the use of *pila/pilis* (*OLD pila* ‘as used by the Roman legionaries’) has suggested a conflict between Romans or a closely related nation. But this conjecture is easily complicated by the suggestion that Ennius has employed polyptoton to emphasize the mid-air collision of the weaponry rather than the identical provenance of the armies; or the fact that the Romans borrowed the use of *pila* from the Spanish and Gauls (Skutsch (1985) 722 f.). Other possible sources for the polyptoton also intrude: Verg.

A. 4.628 f. *litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas | imprecor, arma armis : pugnent ipsique nepotesque*; Sen. *Phoen.* 414 f. *signa collatis micant | uicina signis*. Leigh 38 n. 60 notes the figure's prominence in Livy (e.g. 8.6.15 f., 8.7.6, 8.8.2, 8.8.14 f.); Narducci (2004) 11–13 adds further examples: Enn. *Ann.* 584; Verg. *A.* 2.608 f., 8.164, 10.360 f. (drawing upon Hom. *Il.* 13.130 f. and Eur. *Heracl.* 836 f.; cf. also Bib. *poet.* fr. 10), 11.615; Ov. *Met.* 9.43–5, 15.181 (and cf. 14.301). Later in *BC* the figure features at e.g. 4.783 *frangitur armatum conliso pectore pectus*, 7.573 *confractique ensibus enses*; after *BC*: Sil. 9.322–5.

signis | signa: much preferred (82x) to *aquilae* (8x) in *BC*.

7 pares aquilas: the adjective is evocative of civil conflict at Verg. *G.* 1.489 f. *ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis | Romanas acies iterum uidere Philippi*; A. 6.826 *illae autem paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis*. That much of *BC* is couched in imagery and language which derive from gladiatorial contexts is a long-established feature of the poem (cf. e.g. Haskins on 6.3; Housman on 6.220–3). Words with amphitheatrical relevance (e.g. *par*, *harena*, *coiere*, *area*, *mirari*, *spectare*) manifest this imagery (Ahl 86–8; Leigh 234–43); so too gladiatorial similes, as at 4.283–91, 4.708–10, 6.60–3. Leigh has argued for an extensive correlation between (i) Scaeva's *deuotio* in book six, (ii) the mass suicide on Vulteius' raft in book four, and (iii) the march of Cato across Libya in book nine; and (i) gladiatorial combat, (ii) *naumachiae*, and (iii) *uenationes*, respectively. The meaning of this imagery has been variously interpreted. Leigh has challenged the notion that its presence is relevant to the Etruscan concept of gladiatorial pairings as an offering made to propitiate the dead (Ahl 98 f., 107, 111 f.; cf. 39 *Poeni saturentur sanguine manes*). He argues that many of these scenes function to afford a bloodspectacle to *BC*'s readers and thereby to provoke them into the choice between the complicit passivity of enjoying the spectacles *for their own sake* and the questioning of the moral and political values on which the principate was established (insistently called for by narratorial intervention throughout the poem): Leigh, esp. 234–306; prefigured by Fish (1967) 1–22, 38–80, 142–57 on reader response to Milton's Satan.

pila ... pilis: 'the heavy legionary javelin which symbolized Roman power' (Hollis (1977) on Ov. *Ars* 1.199). Lucan prefers the prosaic

and specific *pilum* (19x; Verg. A. 1x in this sense) to the elevated *iaculum* (10x; Verg. A. 22x).

8–32 THE APOSTROPHE TO ROME

The poet reproaches the citizens of Rome for their suicidal behaviour, and laments the destructive impact of the civil war on Italy.

Lucan's castigation of the citizens of Rome exhibits careful composition and arrangement. Several structural arrangements might be outlined with profit. Lebek 36–8 has argued that lines 8–32 are divided into two uneven halves. The first (8–23) deals with the unfinished responsibilities of republican Rome: revenge for Carrhae and Rome's conquest of the world (13–23). The second treats the devastation of Italy as a result of the civil war (24–32). These themes are clearly represented in the apostrophe, but more detailed patterns of arrangement also emerge. One could read lines 8–32 as a threefold pattern of apostrophe and elaboration. First, the citizens of Rome are addressed (8); a summary of the nation's outstanding responsibilities (9–12) and the potential rewards of meeting these duties (13–20) follows. Then the city itself is addressed (21–3): while external enemies remained, she should never have attacked herself; this is followed by a meditation upon the human loss and architectural decrepitude (symbolizing this human loss), caused by her inability to defer her *furor* (24–9). Finally, the most dangerous enemies of Rome's history are addressed in Pyrrhus and Hannibal (30 f.); the revelation that self-inflicted wounds will surpass the efforts of these historical exemplars concludes the reproach (30–2) and leads into the poet's encomium of Nero. A further scheme could be posited that utilizes aspects of both these readings: vocabulary and theme reveal a concentric structure that lays emphasis upon the central theme of the apostrophe:

A (8) *quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri?*

B (9–12) foreign enemies are still in existence and await Roman retribution: *Babylon spolianda tropaeis | Ausoniis.*

- C (15–20) the potential geographical extent of Latin rule abroad, were Rome to focus its energies externally.
- D (19–23) the central theme: that if civil war was intrinsic to Roman nature, it should at least have been deferred until after all its enemies had been subjected to Latin authority.
- C (24–9) the actual ruination of the fatherland: the consequences at home of Rome's inability to focus its energies externally.
- B (30–1) foreign enemies of the past, Pyrrhus and Hannibal, whose harm to Italy will be surpassed by its own citizens.
- A (31–2) *nulli penitus descendere ferro | contigit; alta sedent ciuilis uulnera dextrae.*

8 *quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri*: structural affinities with the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* continue. Both poems ask questions seeking causative explanations for their subject matter at line 8. The Homeric narrator wishes to know which of the gods brought Achilles and Agamemnon together to fight at *Il.* 1.8 *τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι*. At Verg. *A.* 1.8–11 the question is indirect and expansive:

Musa mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso
quidue dolens regina deum tot uoluere casus
insignem pietate uirum, tot adire labores
impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae?

In both cases the questions also function as transitional devices. In the *Iliad* the transition is from proem to narrative proper. In the *Aeneid* it is from the proposition to a summary of plot information which will allow the narrative to launch *in medias res* at 34 (cf. Austin (1971) 34; Kirk (1985) 54). These examples clearly provide a precedent for Lucan's epic, since here (as in Homer and Vergil) the question is employed as a device to move beyond the proposition of the theme. But Lucan has also employed the device for a new purpose: to reproach the citizens of Rome directly, and to meditate upon the cost to Italy of his epic subject matter.

The question is also programmatic: it first articulates the epic's adjectivally insistent approach to its theme (see 8 n. *furor*) and versions of this question are recast throughout the poem at moments

of narratorial disbelief and heightened emotional intensity (see also Intro. 8–32). The *matrona*, whose prophecies summarize the main events of the civil war and close book one, re-echoes the question cast at the book's beginning at 681 f. *quis furor hic, o Phoebe, doce, quo tela manusque | Romanae miscent acies bellumque sine hoste est*. It is also the question posed by Magnus at the moment the senate compels him to give battle at Pharsalus at 7.95 f. *quis furor, o caeci, scelerum? ciuilia bella | gesturi metuunt ne non cum sanguine uincant*.

Intertextual references are also relevant: Lucan's indignant exclamation evokes a nexus of civil war contexts from Augustan literature. These parallels affect our understanding of 8–32 and they provide an efficient means of locating us within a specific type of crisis. *quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri?* is, in the first place, a composite of two reproachful outbursts from the *Aeneid*. Ascanius upbraids the women of Troy for attempting to burn their own fleet at Verg. A. 5.670–2 *quis furor iste nouus? quo nunc, quo tenditis? inquit | 'heu miserae ciues? non hostem inimicaque castra | Argium, uestras spes uritis*. Laocoon warns the Trojans against the wooden horse at A. 2.42 f. *o miseri, quae tanta insania, ciues? | creditis auectos hostis?* These allusions bring to Lucan's apostrophe nuances of suicidal behaviour that is either born of possession by malevolent supernatural forces or is inadvertent. The former is the case for the Trojan women who would incinerate their means of completing the founding mission of their hero. The latter is the case for the Trojans of *Aeneid* 2, who have in their power and venerate the means of their own destruction. The first of these models (A. 5.670–2) also participates in a network of intra- and intertextual references which reinforces the notion of *concordia*'s dissolution. Horace laments what is almost certainly (Mankin (1995) 142 f.) the return to civil conflict between Octavian and Antony in 32 BC in terms which echo Ascanius' outburst at *Epod.* 7.1 f. *quo, quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris | aptantur enses conditi?* This language is re-employed at Verg. A. 12.313 f.: as the treaty between the Trojans and Italians dissolves into open conflict, Aeneas cries out *quo ruitis? quaeue ista repens discordia surgit? | o cohibete iras!*

The effect of these references is cumulative and insistent (cf. Hershkowitz (1998a) 199–201). The state has turned on itself, *concordia discors* (cf. 98) has yielded to *bella plus quam ciuilia*. The

singer plays Laocoon, but we will see at 67–97 that her nemesis has resided within the *urbs* since its foundation (95 *fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri*). He plays Ascanius, but the suicidal *furor* that boy upbraids will not pass (as at A. 5.676–9) and there will be no intercession from Jove to avert destruction (as at A. 5.693–9). Aeneas' prayer to Jupiter is worth considering for the *protasis* that is a precondition of the Trojans' immediate salvation and for the alternative solution suggested (A. 5.687–92):

'Iuppiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad unum
Troianos, si quid pietas antiqua labores
respicit humanos, da flammam euadere classi
nunc, pater, et tenuis Teucrum res eripe leto.
uel tu, quod superest, infesto fulmine morti,
si mereor, demitte tuaque hic obrue dextra.'

This destruction is the subject of Lucan's song. Rome has her own thunderbolt in Caesar (151–7), but *in sua templa furit* (cf. 155); and in *BC*, the gods are pleased by the city's nemesis: 128 *uictrix causa deis placuit*. On the declamatory relevance of the phrase see *Intro.* § 7(b).

Finally, we may note a further role that such apostrophes play in Lucan's epic (cf. *Intro.* §8 (e)): they serve to reinforce to Lucan's audience the present-day implications of his epic subject matter. Apostrophe plays off the circuit of communication between poet and reader; it dislocates the reader from the temporal sequence of the narrative, and replaces this with a present(ation of) reality in which the poet is writing or reciting (seminal is Culler (1981) 149–71 esp. 152, 168–71). The reduction of the epic distance of the traditional narrator, as well as the emotionally charged nature of the apostrophe and its implications upon how we understand *BC*'s narrator are less important here than the fact that Lucan returns his audience to the contemporary, imperial, Neronian, reality in which *BC* was composed (Walker (1996) 74 f.). At later points within the epic, this temporal shift is made explicitly, and attention is drawn to the present consequences which stem from the narrative of *BC* (cf. esp. 7.385–459, 617–46, 847–72). The upshot of this effect is that *BC* continually announces and illustrates its own relevance to its audience. A perfect example of this is the way in which the present

devastation of Italy precedes and colours the invocation of Nero and the causes of the civil war.

furor: a standard trope for civil dissension or war (*TLL* 6.1.1630–2). Apart from Verg. *A.* 5.670 (quoted above) its tone is established at Cic. *Cat.* 1.1 *quam diu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet?*, 1.2, 1.15; Hor. *Epod.* 7.13, *Carm.* 4.15.17; Verg. *G.* 4.495 *quis tantus furor*; *A.* 1.148–50, 294–6. *furor* is a key word in Lucan (49x; cf. 34x in all of Vergil) and along with *rabies* (20x; 8x in Vergil), highlights one aspect of the narrator's insistent portrayal of civil war (Hershkowitz (1998a) 206–18): 7.551 *hic furor, hic rabies, hic sunt tua crimina, Caesar*.

o ciues: a solemn and emotional address which echoes the opening line of the epic (1 *Bella . . . plus quam ciuilia*), but one pointedly not addressed to a divinity (cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.8; Verg. *A.* 1.8; the *matrona* at 681; Feeney 275).

licentia ferri: reiterates and explains the idea expressed in *furor*, a device in keeping with the cumulative repetition of ideas already found at 1–7. *licentia* describes excessive, uncontrolled, or immoderate use (*OLD* 2b; with a defining genitive: cf. Cic. *Cael.* 7; [Cic.] *Sal.* 18; Liv. 25.40.2; Vell. 2.28.2). The cognate phrase *magna gladiatorum est licentia* enters extant Latin in September 46 bc in Cicero's correspondence with M. Claudius Marcellus (*Fam.* 4.9.4), where it describes the danger that threatened the former opponents of Caesar after Thapsus. It is a letter that shares a great deal of the tone of Lucan's epic. In Augustan poetry, *licentia* had been used absolutely to refer to civil discord (*TLL* 7.2.1356), as at Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.25–30 (cf. 4.15.10):

o quisquis uolet impias
caedes et rabiem tollere ciuicam,
si quaeret 'Pater urbium'
subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat
refrenare licentiam
clarus postgenitis . . .

After Lucan cf. Sil. 1.385 *quae tanta licentia uoti?*

9 gentibus inuisis Latium praeberere cruorem: the idea of civil blood as an offertory to Rome's past and present enemies is a consistent theme of *BC*. It is revisited explicitly within the poet's invocation of

Nero at 38 f. *diros Pharsalia campos | inpleat, et Poeni saturentur sanguine manes* and e.g. 4.790, 6.310 f. The idea is prefigured in the civil war imagery of the early Augustan period, as at e.g. Hor. *Epod.* 7.9–10 *ut secundum uota Parthorum sua | urbs haec periret dextera; Carm.* 2.1.25–8 *Iuno et deorum quisquis amicior | Afris inulta cesserat impotens | tellure uictorum nepotes | rettulit inferias Iugurthae*. Horace surely echoes themes from the history of Asinius Pollio (the poem's dedicatee) whence, probably, the idea of Roman blood as an expiatory offering to the ghosts of her enemies (NH on Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.25–8). *cruur* here and usually connotes blood which is freshly split (like βρότος in Homer: Harrison (1991) on Verg. *Aen.* 10.348–9; *TLL* 1.1242.1–1243.74).

Latium praeberere cruorem: the phrase finds a recent antecedent at Sen. Ag. 845–47 *hospitum dirus stabulis cruorem | praebuilt* (of Diomedes feeding his horses human flesh). *Latium cruorem* adapts a standard civil war motif which stretches back to Cic. *Sull.* 19 *cum tela, cum caedes, cum ciuium cruor, cum cinis patriae uersari ante oculos*. It was adapted in the frequent motif of civil blood enriching the soil at Hor. *Epod.* 7.3 f. *parumne campis atque Neptuno super | fusum est Latini sanguinis...?*; *Carm.* 2.1.29 f. *quis non Latino sanguine pinguior | campus*, 36 *quae caret ora cruore nostro?*; Verg. G. 1.491 f. *nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro | Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos*.

10–12 That the more urgent responsibility of Pompey and Caesar was to avenge the death of Crassus and the losses of his standards near Carrhae in 53 BC was a theme of early Augustan poetry. Reproach for their neglect of this duty and its consequences is found at Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.21–3 (cf. Williams (1969) 59). The same period repeatedly advertises a return to this responsibility by Augustus through direct and indirect allusion: Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.15, 2.5.62; *Carm.* 1.2.51 f., 1.12.53–60, 1.21.13–16, 2.13.17–19, 3.2.1–4, 3.5.2–4, 4.15.4–16, 21–4, 4.5.25–32; *Epist.* 1.18.56, 2.1.250–7; Verg. G. 3.30–3; A. 7.601–6; Prop. 2.10.13 f., 2.14.23 f., 2.27.5 f., 3.4.1–6, 3.9.54, 3.12.1–4, 4.3.36, 67.

This theme will be revisited by Lentulus, who (with the explicit approval of the narrator at 8.327–30) reproaches Pompey with this

aspect of his guilt just as the full consequences of his defeat at Pharsalus are emerging (8.420–6):

nam quod apud populos crimen socerique tuumque
maius erit, quam quod uobis miscentibus arma
Crassorum uindicta perit? incurrere cuncti
debuerant in Bactra duces et, nequa uacarent
arma, uel Arctoum Dacis Rhenique cateruis
imperii nudare latus, dum perfida Susa
in tumulos prolapsa ducum Babylonque iaceret.

10 foret: an archaic alternative for *esset*, Lucan has *fores* (2x), *foret* (7x, again at 497), and *forent* (once) in preference to the classical *esses* (once), *esset* (4x), and *essent* (once) (cf. Austin (1964) on Verg. A. 2.439).

superba . . . Babylon: as at 8.299 f. In fact the capital of Parthia was Ctesiphon, but Lucan opts for a city evocative of the scale of the imperial conquests of Alexander the Great, which will feature explicitly in the narrative at 233 f. and esp. 10.20–52.

BC offers a wide variety of nouns which preserve or affect Greek terminations in the nominative (in this book: 214 *Rubicon*; most frequent is *Hammon*). The contention of Marx at *RE* 1.2232.44–7, that they add variety ‘here and there’, holds true enough for books one to five (18x) but is misleading with regard to books six to ten (from where he drew his examples), where they occur 51x.

tropaeis: the standards captured by Parthia from Crassus at Carrhae in 53.

11 Ausoniis: ‘Italian’ as often in Vergil. The Ausones were the original inhabitants of Campania (Austin (1977) on Verg. A. 6.346; Mayer (1986) 52 on the word’s history).

Crassus: somewhat less of a character than an event (that is, his death) or an index (that is, of guilt). In a text in which the assignation of culpability plays a central thematic role, Crassus himself is never explicitly singled out for blame (although the narrator makes clear that the triumvirate share responsibility for the onset of civil war: see 84–9). Within the *foedus regni* (4) he is portrayed as the passive one, the peacekeeper: we are told at 98–108 that he prevented Pompey and

Caesar from clashing for as long as he could. His death at Carrhae (portrayed in similarly passive terms) is presented as the outcome of bad fortune. This view is expressed by the tribune Metellus (3.125–7), by Cornelia (8.90–4), and by the narrator himself (10.50 f.). He is even cited by Pompey as an avenger of Rome's enemies (2.552–4). Clearly, the dead Crassus figures as a more potent symbol for Lucan and his characters than the historical figure could be. He stands as the antithesis of Caesar's impetuous, suicidal *furor*: and not just in his *mora* (100): throughout the poem, he remains a Roman general killed while waging *bella habitura triumphos* (12 n.) who now lies unburied outside the borders of the empire. This is relevant to one of Crassus' chief functions in *BC*. His death, his lack of burial, and the fact that he died fighting external enemies are all used to a certain extent to expose or measure the guilt of the other characters of the poem. He is variously invoked throughout the epic. Metellus does so to heap guilt upon both sides at Pharsalus (8.420–2) and to expose the lunacy of Pompey's suggestion to seek Parthian aid against Caesar (8.325–7; 8.356–8; 8.390–4; 8.414–16). Cornelia does so in self-reproach at her inability to perform burial rites for Magnus (9.64–6). On Lucan's Crassus: Szelest (1979) 111–16.

umbraque erraret Crassus inulta: the shade of Crassus wanders because he lies unburied. Lentulus makes this clear at 8.392–4. *errare* is a standard verb of motion for shades of the dead (*TLL* 5.807): cf. Verg. *A.* 6.329; Ov. *Met.* 4.443; Sen. *Thy.* 671–3, *Oed.* 949–51. The idea is adapted near the end of the epic at 10.528 *dum patrii ueniant in uiscera Caesaris enses* | *Magnus inultus erit*.

12 bella . . . nullos habitura triumphos: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 14.23 *Pharsaliae uero pugnae ne triumphum quidem egit*. The future participle stands in for a relative clause (as at e.g. Ov. *Ep.* 16.6, 60); *nullus* as *non* (*OLD nullus* 6) is emphatic and probably colloquial in origin (Dilke (1960) on Luc. 7.25; Kenney (1996) on Ov. *Ep.* 16.350). Here is the antithesis to those options presented in lines 9–11. The notion of triumphing assumes a heightened moral aspect throughout *BC* since it can only result from victories over foreign enemies. It therefore affords an abbreviated expression of the contrast between the acceptable application of military genius (that is, against foreigners) and its perversion in civil war (see esp. 3.79; also 3.310 and 6.261). Past

triumphs and their future possibility are frequently used in the poem to define aspects of the personalities of Caesar and Pompey (286, 342; 2.644, 727; 3.26; 7.7–19, 279 f. 683–6; 8.813–15). The status anxiety felt by each character with regard to the frequency, possibility, and vintage of the other's triumphs is explicitly cited as a catalyst for the war at 120 f.

bella geri: standard prose terminology, but present in verse since Enn. *trag.* 105 J.

triumphos: 30x in Lucan and always in this *sedes*.

13 **heu, quantum terrae potuit pelagique parari:** echoes Anchises' lament for the Roman state, should the shades of Pompey and Caesar ever see the light of day, at Verg. *A.* 6.828 f. *heu quantum inter se bellum, si lumina uitae | attigerint, quantas acies stragemque ciebunt...*! But *BC*'s context has emerged from the historical fact of their birth and the disastrous consequences of their lives: as frequently, Lucan's poem looks back to and bookends events from the Augustan epic.

heu: outbursts by the singer of the poem are a relatively frequent event in *BC*. Of the 14 times the exclamatory *heu* occurs, 10 are used in authorial intrusion into the narrative, the other 4 emit from the mouths of characters within the poem. Taking the genre as a whole, it is remarkable that Lucan's narrator monopolizes the word to this extent. The following figures should not be pressed too far, they merely contextualize this aspect of Lucan's narrative technique and establish a pattern with implications for our understanding of his narrative persona. Vergil, who conforms most closely of all the Latin epic poets to Aristotle's ideal narrator (*Poet.* 1460a), reserves only 6 of the interjection's 34 appearances in the *Aeneid* for his singer. The word is shared evenly by singer and subject in Ovid's epic (6x/6x). Silius uses it most frequently of all, but less than half the time in authorial outbursts (28x/60x). In Valerius, the narrator preserves only a third of the total (14x/42x); in Statius' *Thebaid*, a little over a quarter (14x/53x).

terrae: Lucan prefers the more prosaic *terra* (188x) to *tellus* (98x, 'lofty and poetic': Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.101). This is part of a general strategy of mixing less poetic diction with traditional epic vocabulary (Bramble (1982) 541 f.; Fantham 34–43; see *Introd.* §5).

potuit pelagique parari: *pelagus*, transliterated from πέλαγος, was a poetic Graecism before Vergil (Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.230–1). The threefold alliteration of ‘p’ imparts an archaic tone to the line (e.g. O’Hara (1997) 252) and perhaps underscores the indignant tone of the question, which is, almost literally, spat out (for the figure: e.g. Wilkinson (1963) 25–8; Coleman (1999) 47–9). *parari* is simple for the compound *comparari* (Getty).

14 hoc . . . ciuiles hauserunt sanguine dextrae: the phrase is a brutal one (Fitch (1987) 286; Hopkinson (2000) 151 f.). Lucan reuses it in this sense at 2.140 f. to describe Sulla’s proscriptions. The civil war context of Lucan’s usage is loaded by earlier uses of the phrase to mark either a breakdown in familial relations or in similar contexts of civil discord or of breach of trust. At Sen. Ag. 890 Cassandra recounts Aegisthus’ slaying of Agamemnon. At *Her. F.* 636 Hercules avenges Lycus’ threat to slaughter his family. At *Ben.* 6.30.5 Seneca describes the horrifying attendant circumstances of wars that spring from flattering the powerful. At Sen. *Suas.* 6.6 the Elder Seneca employs it to describe the civil wars. At Ov. *Met.* 4.118 Pyramus uses it in suicidal exclamation. At *Met.* 7.332–4 Medea exhorts the daughters of Pelias to patricide. At *Met.* 13.329 Philoctetes describes the enmity of his *quondam* ally, Odysseus. At Liv. 26.13.13 Vibius Virrius reflects upon the retribution awaiting Capua for its defection from Rome to Carthage.

sanguine: Lucan favours the medically precise term (124x) over the poetic *cruor* (41x) in keeping with Latin epic usage (Hunink (1992) on Luc. 3.124).

sanguine dextrae: a line ending again at 10.338. It is frequent in hexameter: Catul. 64.230; *Culex* 257; V. Fl. 3.391; Stat. *Theb.* 9.666; Sil. 2.617, 12.578.

15–18 These lines allude not only to the universal potential of Rome’s *imperium*, but to the concomitant universal scale of the civil war, announced at line 5. This idea of Roman expansion is imitated by the rhetorical arrangement of the lines. The periphrases used to describe the four points of the compass themselves expand, each one further than the last, from the three words used to indicate the east, to the description of the north, which covers two lines. The

order of these coordinates is also relevant to the narrator's subject. Throughout *BC*, the east is virtually synonymous with Pompey (by his own admission at 2.632–48; cf. 8.262–327 and 3.169–297, the catalogue of eastern forces under Pompey), while the north may be read as representing Caesar (122; 392–465, the catalogue of Caesar's Gallic forces). In this way, then, even in these lines, there exists a subtle foreshadowing of Caesar's victory over Pompey, in that the points of the compass climax in an extended description of the north, which is as long as the other three points of the compass combined. Here, geographical symbolism anticipates that political reality of Caesar's domination 3.108 *omnia Caesar erat* (cf. also 201 f.).

The potentially limitless geographical expansion of a concordant Roman state is a structurally significant theme: the implications of civil war announced here are re-explored at the emotional and thematic centre of the narrative, at Pharsalus in book seven. Here, as noted above, they articulate an unfulfilled opportunity: Rome's inability to attain that promise of *imperium sine fine*, promised by Vergil's Jupiter (*A.* 1.279). Had she externalized the energies of Caesar and Pompey, had she waged *bella habitura triumphos* (12), the four points of the compass would have marked the extent of her rule. The consequences of this failure will be taken up almost immediately at 24–9, in the devastation to Italy that results from being unable to externalize her *furor*. At 7.419–36, when the narrative's self-imposed obstacles to progress (see Masters esp. 1–10) have at last been surmounted and the armies of Caesar and Pompey meet at Pharsalus, the narrator presents us with the longest meditation upon this theme within *BC*:

quae latius orbem
possedit, citius per prospera fata cucurrit?
omne tibi bellum gentis dedit, omnibus annis
te geminum Titan procedere uidit in axem;
haud multum terrae spatium restabat Eoae.
ut tibi nox, tibi tota dies, tibi curreret aether,
omniaque errantes stellae Romana uiderent.
sed retro tua fata tulit par omnibus annis
Emathiae funesta dies. hac luce cruenta

effectum, ut Latios non horreat India fasces,
 nec uetitos errare Dahas in moenia ducat
 Sarmaticumque premat succinctus consul aratrum,
 quod semper saeuas debet tibi Parthia poenas,
 quod fugiens ciuile nefas redituraque numquam
 libertas ultra Tigrim Rhenumque recessit
 ac, totiens nobis iugulo quaesita, uagatur
 Germanum Scythicumque bonum, nec respicit ultra
 Ausoniam, uellem populis incognita nostris.

Both in the proem and at Pharsalus, the idea represents a longer and more insistent exploration of a theme expressed repeatedly at Hor. *Epod.* 7.3–10, *Carm.* 1.2.21–4. It is a hallmark of Lucan's style that a commonplace of civil war imagery is adopted only to be defamiliarized by an extended expansion of its implications. Here, as with the paratactic repetition with which the poem opens, the reader is neither allowed to escape nor pass over the consequences of his epic subject matter.

15 unde uenit Titan: the sun, child of the Titan Hyperion; first found at Cic. *Arat.* 34.60 (Pease (1935) on Verg. *A.* 4.119 with copious illustration).

nox ubi sidera condit: Getty argued that Duff's translation, 'where night hides the stars', should be rejected in favour of 'where the night hides his orb'. He objected that Latin poetry did not furnish any examples of 'the night hiding the stars or laying them to rest'. Rather, he argued, 'what *nox* does "hide" or "lay to rest" [*condit*] is the Sun and the light of day'. The matter had been an issue of debate in the five years prior to the publication of his edition (cf. Getty (1936); Semple (1937)), and did not seem satisfactorily resolved to Bruère (1949). In short, Getty's evidence (*BC* 4.472 f.; *Sen. Med.* 874–8) does not adequately support the notion of *nox* putting away or laying to rest the orb of the sun. In both cases, daylight is what is hidden, not stars. Latin poetry does furnish examples of the phenomenon denied by Getty and alluded to by Lucan, e.g. *Sen. Her. F.* 125–8 (Bruère (1949) 248, 250). Getty's third restatement of his case (1951) reopened the debate, although he failed therein to overturn Bruère's evidence supporting the notion of night hiding the stars. For our present purposes we might favour the less ingenious of the

two readings and (taking the text at its word) read *sidera* without supplying a qualifying genitive (such as at V. Fl. 6.441 f.).

16 quaque dies medius flagrantibus aestuat oris: ‘and where the south burns with its blazing regions’. *oris* seems to be the best alternative, despite its lack of manuscript authority, an easy scribal error from *Ω horis*, which is inconsistent with *dies medius* meaning (in this context) ‘south’ (*OLD medius* 6; as at Verg. G. 3.303; Luc. 9.606; Sen. *Her. F.* 236: *regio est, non tempus*, Housman). Other contenders are *auris* (Oudendorp); or, possibly, *aruīs* (Shackleton Bailey (1987) 75: cf. Curt. 7.5.3). Lucan much prefers *qua* (77x) to *ubi* (14x).

17 bruma: from **breuima* (sc. *dies*): ‘the winter solstice’; thence ‘winter’ (*OLD* 2); 9x in Lucan and idiosyncratic: the other epicists shy away from *bruma* in favour of *hiems* (9x also in Luc.; cf. Verg. A. 1x: 13x; Ov. *Met.* 0x: 11x; V. Fl. 2x: 15x; Stat. *Theb.* 9x: 19x; Sil. 1x: 10x).

nescia uere remitti: for *nescius* + inf.: LHS 350 f.; NLS #26.

18 Scythico glaciale frigare pontum: Getty’s promotion of V *Scythicum glaciale frigare Pontum* over *Ω* should be rejected for its weaker authority and its inability to fit this context, where it must mean ‘north’: see Roche (2003) 611–13.

19–20 sub iuga iam Seres, iam barbarus isset Araxes | et gens siqua iacet nascenti conscia Nilo: evoking as a future possibility the predicted triple triumph of Augustus on the shield of Aeneas at Verg. A. 8.721–8. Lucan supplies these kinds of exotic details of far-distant lands at 7.188; cf. e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.25–8. Nock (1926) 17–18 draws attention to the correspondences between these lines and actual expeditions undertaken during the reign of Nero. A party was sent to discover the source of the Nile (Sen. *Nat.* 6.8.3). In 58 Corbulo had burned the city of Artaxata on the Araxes (Tac. *Ann.* 13.41). In 66 Nero was planning an invasion of Armenia (Chilver (1979) 9–11 with references).

sub iuga...isset: the regular expression of the military phenomenon is *mittere sub iuga* (*TLL* 8.1184.10–27); Lucan’s variation

transfers to this military context the agricultural context of Ovid's expression at *Ep.* 6.10 *isse sacros Marti sub iuga panda boues*.

Araxes: the modern Armenian river Aras. It rises near Erzurum in Turkey and flows eastwards for 914km into the Caspian Sea. In antiquity it marked a trade route from the Caspian into Asia Minor. Lentulus also associates the Araxes with the death of Crassus at 8.431–9.

20 et gens siqua iacet nascenti conscia Nilo: *iacere* is frequently 'to be situated', in reference to peoples (*OLD* 11b; *TLL* 7.1.22.11–25); for *consciis* + dat. *rei*, cf. Tib. 1.9.41; *TLL* 4.371.30–9. The source of the Nile will find detailed treatment at 10.172–331.

21 si tantus amor belli tibi, Roma, nefandi: echoes of Lucan's expression are found in the *Aeneid* in four places, each of which colours Lucan's present use of language and imparts echoes of its original context to the phrase. At A. 2.10, the hero prefaces his eye-witness account of the destruction of his city with the words *sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros*; at 6.133 f., the Sibyl reluctantly permits Aeneas' descent into the underworld with the expression *quod si tantus amor menti, si tanta cupido est | bis Stygios innare lacus*; at 11.323, when Latinus resigns himself to the fact that he has been fighting a *bellum importunum* and can no longer prevent the settlement of Italy by the Trojans, he suggests to the Latin council *considant, si tantus amor, et moenia condant*; at 12.572 f. Aeneas proclaims the culpability of the *urbs* as he prepares to raze the Latin capital to the ground: '*hoc caput, o ciues, haec belli summa nefandi. | ferte faces propere foedusque repositae flammis*'. After Lucan, cf. Sil. 17.495.

Roma: frequently apostrophized in *BC*: in book one, here, 85, 200 (Caesar), 519, 670 (Figulus).

22 totum sub Latias leges cum miseris orbem: Lucan underscores the obligation of fulfilling the Roman imperial mission as defined by Vergil's Jupiter at A. 1.257–96, 4.229–31 *sed fore qui grauidam imperiis belloque frementem | Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucris | proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem* and by Anchises at A. 6.851–3 *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento | (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, | parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*.

23–32 *defuit hostis... | nulloque...custode... | desuntque manus... | non tu, Pyrrhe..., nec...auctor | Poenus erit, nulli...ferro | contigit*: Lucan's epic frequently enumerates the events, people, or things which are *absent* from a situation. This present example is less concentrated than others (perhaps the most explicit illustration is Cato's funereal wedding at 2.350–71), but it foreshadows an important narrative technique of Lucan's: 'negation antithesis'. This takes the form of a list of negative statements that frustrate the expectations of the reader and highlights the inversion or suspension of natural order caused by the civil war. It furthermore highlights *BC*'s transformation of its epic inheritance, by often playing off the generic expectations of the reader. This list of negatives is capped by an adversative clause whose effect is heightened by the accumulation of pre-empted alternate possibilities. In this case, the effect is most noticeable at 30–2: not Pyrrhus, not Hannibal, not any foreign enemy, but *Romans* inflicted these wounds. For aspects of this technique in *BC*: Heitland cviii; Nowack (1955); Seitz (1965); Bramble (1982) 544–8 (drawing on Seitz); Henderson (1988) 137; Fantham 144 f. on 2.354–71; Esposito (2004) 39–67 offers a catalogue (omitting this example).

24 *at nunc*: 'as it is' (*OLD nunc* 11a); cf. e.g. Verg. *Ecl.* 10.44. We return from the subjunctive mood used to enumerate the wasted potential of 9–20 and the central apostrophe to Rome at 21–3, to the indicative, to reality, and to the devastating consequences of the civil war upon Italy. But these words also directly confront the epic models Lucan invokes in the following lines (25, 28 nn.). In both cases, Lucan's Vergilian model contrasts the physical primitivism which marks his narrative present with the promise of Rome's rise to power by promoting the temporal antitheses at Verg. *A.* 6.776 *tum/nunc* and 8.348 *nunc/olim*. Lucan's *at nunc* engages with the ostensible optimism of *Aeneid* 6 and 8, and insists upon an alternate, more openly pessimistic outcome of Vergil's foundation myth.

24–6 *semirutis pendent...moenia tectis | ...lapisque ingentia muris | saxa iacent*: announces the imagery of architectural ruination foreshadowed at line 5.

24 *quod*: 'as to the fact that' (*OLD* 6a), so too at 28; cf. Sinon at Verg. *A.* 2.180 *et nunc quod patrias uento petiere Mycenae, | arma deosque parant comites pelagoque remenso | improuisi aderunt*.

semirutis: dry and prosaic, this compound adjective provides a good illustration of the kind of vocabulary incorporated into the epic register in *BC*. This is the first example of *semirutus* in poetry (again at 4.585; later Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.104); Lucan has imported it from Livy (5.49.4). For compound adjectives in *BC*: 48 n.

25 urbibus Italiae: abl. of place. Lucan presents the cities of Italy as decaying and abandoned. At Verg. *A.* 6.771–6, Anchises foretold to Aeneas the rise of the townships of Italy and the people who would bring this about:

qui iuuenes! quantas ostendant, aspice, uiris
 atque umbrata gerunt ciuili tempora quercu!
 hi tibi Nomentum et Gabios urbemque Fidenam,
 hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces,
 Pometios Castrumque Inui Bolamque Coramque;
 haec tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terrae.

Lucan's Italy, by contrast, is a wasteland of anonymous, ruined ghost towns. The temporal point of view assumed by the narrator, who looks back to Rome's downfall, affords a moral symmetry with Anchises' optimistic prophecy. In Vergil, the young men who are the prosperity of these towns have all earned the *corona ciuica*, awarded for saving their fellow citizens' lives in war. In Lucan's epic, though, through the self-destructive impulses of Rome, the cycle is complete. We might paraphrase Vergil: *haec tum nomina erant, nunc sunt sine nomine terrae*.

Italiae: the first syllable is properly short. It is found lengthened first at Catul. 1.5: a use adopted by Vergil and subsequent hexameter poets (Austin (1955) on Verg. *A.* 4.106; Fordyce (1961) on Catul. 1.5).

ingentia . . . | saxa: as at Verg. *A.* 6.616, 10.127, 12.531, 12.896–7; a collocation boasting Homeric genealogy (cf. Hom. *Od.* 11.594) and the 'archetypal epic epithet' (Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.127). *ingens* is an adjective very dear to Vergil, but found much less frequently in *BC* (34x) than in any other of the extant epics (Verg. *A.* 168x; Ov. *Met.* 61x; V. Fl. 70x; Stat. *Theb.* 100x; Sil. 92x).

27 rarus et . . . habitator: Lucan's present (24 *at nunc*) lives out the dire future prediction of Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.23 f., in which a *uitio*

parentum | *rara iuuentus* will hear of the sins of his generation's civil war. Also relevant are the effects of *ira* at Sen. *Dial.* 3.2.2 *aspice solitudines per multa milia sine habitatore desertas*; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.150 *rarus uacuis habitator in aruis* | *monstrat Cyclopum ductas sudoribus arces*. Postponed *et* was originally a neoteric and Hellenistic mannerism favoured by Vergil (Austin (1955) on Verg. *A.* 4.33).

habitor: Lucan is fond of verbal nouns in *-tor*. In book one: *petitor* (131), *ductor* (228, 356), *rector* (359), *metator* (382, 426), and *conditor* (636). In this case there may be further point to the term, which is first here in poetry and is something of a technical term ('il vocabolo era adoperato soprattutto in trattazioni storiche o scientifiche o geographiche', Perutelli (2004) 94 f.; *OLD* 1b; *TLL* 6.2471.11–20). Lucan's picture of the surviving *ciues* here has the detached air of empirical observation.

28–9 This agricultural result of civil war was anticipated by Verg. *G.* 1.505–7 *tot bella per orbem, | tam multae scelerum facies, non ullus aratro | dignus honos, squalent abductis arua colonis*.

28 *horrida...dumis* | *Hesperia est*: again the text engages with one of the overtly prophetic scenes from the *Aeneid* and bookends anticipation with regret. In *Aeneid* 8, Evander walks the hero through the site of pre-Rome. In the central passage of this tour that constitutes both the book's thematic core and a topographical counterpart to the parade of future heroes in book six (Gransden (1976) 4–11, 29–36, 130), Evander reveals the Capitolium to Aeneas: *A.* 8.347 f. *hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit | aurea nunc, olim siluestribus horrida dumis*. As at line 25 (25 n.), the temporal conjunctions of the Vergilian model could be reversed to reveal the reality that Lucan presents. The only other place within epic poetry that employs this combination of adjective and instrument is at Verg. *A.* 9.381 f. *silua fuit late dumis atque ilice nigra | horrida*. This is the wood where Euryalus will die, but the topography of the model is of relevance to Lucan's wasteland: Vergil notes that these very woods will become a known region of Italy (the *loci Albani*, on which Hardie (1994) on Verg. *A.* 9.387–8). Lucan's description of Italy in terms that evoke the woods of Vergil brings an ominous symbolism to the situation *BC* describes. Hardie (1994) on Verg. *A.* 9.381–3 well defines the symbolic nexus of epic *silvae*: they are environments of perplexity and

error, the dwelling places of ‘the numinous and monstrous’, the physical location for primitivism, or points of departure for journeys into the underworld.

multosque...per annos: the phrase is Vergilian (Getty); cf. also the notion behind Hor. *Epod.* 16.1 *altera iam teritur bellis ciuilibus aetas*.

inarata: the word evokes a key golden age theme, that the earth will offer fruit of its own volition and with no cultivation (Gatz (1967) 229; Thomas (1988) on *G.* 1.127 f.; Mankin (1995) 263). Its use here, however, strikes a desperate contrast. The adjective enters Latin verse in early Augustan poetry: cf. Hor. *Epod.* 16.43, when the narrator wishes to abandon Italy because of the devastation caused by civil war for unnamed islands which yet preserve the golden age, and Verg. *G.* 1.83, when the poet tells how to avoid the thanklessness of untilled land. Both contexts are relevant to our passage, so too those Greek precedents which treat this aspect of the golden age: Homer’s description of the island of the Cyclopes at *Od.* 9.109–11 ἀλλὰ τά γ’ ἄσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα πάντα φύονται, | πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ ἡδ’ ἄμπελοι, αἷ τε φέρουσιν | οἶνον ἐριστάφυλον, καὶ σφιν Διὸς ὄμβρος ἀέξει; Hes. *Op.* 116–19 on the ‘gold race’ ἐσθλὰ δὲ πάντα | τοῖσιν ἔην-καρπὸν δ’ ἔφερε ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα | αὐτομάτη πολλὸν τε καὶ ἄφθονον· οἱ δ’ ἐβελημοὶ | ἥσυχοι ἔργ’ ἐνέμοντο σὺν ἐσθλοῖσιν πολέεσσιν. The comparison of these idyllic scenes with the Roman Italy of Lucan’s epic is pointed: not only will Lucan’s unploughed land produce no fruit *sua sponte*; but the war has robbed the land of the cultivation it so desperately needs (28 *poscentibus aruis*) in the form of the men who could provide this.

29 Hesperia: ‘the land of the west’: (perhaps derived from the adjective at Ap. Rhod. 3.311 ἑσπερίης), poetic in Latin since Enn. *Ann.* 20 Sk. (Skutsch (1985) ad loc.; Mayer (1986) 52 f.) in *BC* it is favoured over *Italia* (20x/7x).

poscentibus aruis: for the phrase, cf. Verg. *A.* 11.379 *cum bella manus poscunt* (Getty). This type of line-ending form is found again at 205 *squalentibus aruis*, 4.413 *dentibus aruo*, 5.39 *squalentibus aruis*, and 9.384 *serpentibus arua*.

30–2 The narrator completes his castigation of the citizens of Rome by contextualizing the gravity of the damage done to Italy by the civil

war. The self-inflicted carnage of Caesar and Pompey has surpassed the capability of even the most notorious enemies of the Roman republic, Pyrrhus and Hannibal (coupled previously in this context at Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.35 f.).

30 non tu, Pyrrhe ferox: Plutarch's Hannibal reckoned Pyrrhus the greatest general after Alexander (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 8.2). In 280 he brought an army of around 25,000 men to Italy in response to Tarentine pleas for help against Rome. He defeated the consular army of P. Valerius Laevinus at Heraclea in 280, marched north as far as Anagnia (60km south of Rome), and attempted to negotiate peace over the autumn and winter of the same year. After diplomacy failed, he defeated the consular army of P. Decius Mus at Ausculum in 279. In the same year he accepted the Syracusan offer of supreme commander in their war against Carthage: a situation which resulted in an alliance between Rome and Carthage against the Epirote king. He took a succession of towns throughout Sicily from 278–277, for which he was proclaimed βασιλεύς of Sicily in this same period. He returned to the Italian mainland in 276 at the invitation of the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttii, but suffered heavy losses in engagements on land and sea near Rhegium, and was decisively defeated by the consul M'. Curius Dentatus at Beneventum in 275. After this event, he returned to Epirus and was killed at Argos in 272. For a synthesis of the ancient evidence: Franke (1990) 456–85.

Lucan's choice of the epithet *ferox* in his apostrophe to Pyrrhus is at odds with the wealth of Roman historical sources that record his justice and his attempts at peaceful negotiation during his Italian campaign. *ferocia* is a positive Roman military virtue (Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.609–10 citing Liv. 9.6.13); here its application to a foreigner complicates this positive association. The adjective may be more relevant to the terror felt in Rome at his advance in 280 (Val. Max. 4.3.14; Flor. 1.13.24). Plutarch may also be useful to us here on the physiognomy of Pyrrhus: *Pyrrh.* 3.4 ἦν δ' ὁ Πύρρος τῇ μὲν ἰδέᾳ τοῦ προσώπου φοβερώτερον ἔχων ἢ σεμνότερον τὸ βασιλικόν. Much more important, though, may have been book six of Ennius' *Annales*, in which Pyrrhus' Italian campaign was treated (Skutsch (1987) 512–14; *contra* Cornell (1986) 248–50; Cornell (1987) 514–16), and which may have been the origin of Lucan's epithet.

Though the context is not beyond doubt (Skutsch (1985) 336), Ennius may describe the preparations at Rome upon his arrival in Italy at *Ann.* 169 Sk. *balantum pecudes quatit, omnes arma requirunt*. Another fragment preserves a characterization of the king and his forces that is consistent with Lucan's *ferox*, at *Ann.* 197 Sk. *stolidum genus Aeacidarum: | Bellipotentis sunt magis quam sapientipotentis*.

tantis cladibus auctor: Caesar will be the *tantis cladibus auctor*: this conclusion is reinforced for the reader by a number of textual strategies. In the first place, Pyrrhus' epithet, *ferox*, recalls the text's presentation of Caesar, who is associated with the word through his northern troops (308, 464), his soldiers (4.534, 4.730), and his Julian ancestry (Marius at 4.822). Moreover, Caesar is often characterized by synonyms of *ferox*: 479 *ferus*, 146 *acer*, 3.453 *inpatiens*, 5.317, 658, 10.15 *intrepidus* (*TLL* 6.1.569). *auctor* + dat. is colloquial (Getty) and Lucan is the first poet who uses it (before him: Ter. *Ad.* 671; Cic. *Att.* 8.3.3; *CIL* 2.6278; cf. *TLL* 2.1201).

31 Poenus: in Lucan's epic, Hannibal is used in a similar fashion to Crassus, in that he is not so much a 'real' character as an index of guilt or a proof of loyalty in the poem's other protagonists. Caesar's culpability is repeatedly asserted by association with the Carthaginian invader. At 304 f. he himself is made to recognize the similarity between his invasion of Italy and Hannibal's own in 218 bc. At 3.349 the people of Massilia explicitly compare Caesar's siege of their town with Hannibal's siege of Saguntum. At 7.799 Caesar surpasses the infamy of his Punic model by refusing to bury the citizen dead of Pharsalus, despite the rites afforded to the victims of Cannae. Conversely, the loyalty of Cato the Censor—and by explicit association, his great-grandson—is defined at 6.789 f. by his greater (that is, than Caesar's and Pompey's) enmity towards Carthage. Juba is caricatured as a dangerous foreign enemy by association with his ancestor at 8.286. The other major function of Hannibal is as an (outrageously inappropriate) recipient of expiatory rites through the victims of civil war, at 39, 4.790, 6.310 f.

erit: 'will prove to be' (cf. 8.379 with Mayer (1981) ad loc). The narrative temporal point of view shifts back to before the war and

now anticipates the events of the narrative. Hitherto it has been looking back upon them (9–14) and meditating their present consequences (24–9). This temporal shift helps to articulate the anticipation of 30 f. *non tu... nec tantis cladibus auctor* | *Poenus erit*, which the text will resolve.

31–2 nulli penitus descendere ferro | **contigit: nulli... ferro** here is ‘to no foreign sword’; cf 82 n. Lucan’s turn of phrase is adapted by Statius in the same contexts of suicide and civil violence at Stat. *Theb.* 10.814 *altius haud quisquam Danaum mucrone subisset*.

descendere: ‘to penetrate, to move inwards’ (*OLD* 6) used here and at 6.216 of wounds inflicted by weapons (cf. *TLL* 5.1.648). Ov. *Her.* 15.276, *Met.* 3.67 import it from Liv. 1.41.5 into verse.

32 alta sedent ciuilis uulnera dextrae: a true *sententia* in the Aristotelian sense, i.e. a γνώμη: see Introd. §8 (d); Bonner (1966) 260 n. 12. The shift back to the present tense is as significant a contrast to the two preceding lines as is the antithesis *nulli* (‘no outside/other/alien’: 12 n.) / *ciuilis*, a word upon which Lucan naturally leans for effect (Bonner (1966) 267). The present tense establishes that the wounds caused by the civil war are *still* deep-seated at the time of narration. It reinforces the relevance of Lucan’s epic subject matter as it reasserts the cost to Italy, outlined in lines 24–9, which the encomium of Nero will be read against. The clause as a whole anticipates the transition to the encomium by forming an anticlimax to the ascending tricolon of 30–1.

33–66 THE INVOCATION OF NERO

The narrator invokes his emperor: civil war and its consequences were not too high a price to pay to bring about the accession of Nero.

For intent, irony, and other issues see Introd. §1(a–d). For scholarship on the invocation: e.g. Nock (1926) 17 f.; Marti (1945) 352–76; Levi (1949); Griset (1955) 134–8; Schönberger (1958) 232; Pfligersdorffer (1959) 344–77; Grimal (1960) 296–305; Brisset (1964) 196–201; Thompson (1964) 147–53; Rutz (1965) 296–302; Conte

(1966) 42–53; Dilke (1972); Jenkinson (1974) 8 f.; Ahl 25–61 esp. 47–9; Lebek 81–3; Bohenkamp (1977) 235–48; Sullivan (1985) 145; Hinds (1987) 26–9; Johnson (1987) 121–3; Feeney 298–301; Fantham 13 f.; Masters 136 f.; Dewar (1994); Hershkowitz (1998) 64 f., 209; Hinds (1998) 86–8; Leigh (2000) 190–2; Wheeler (2002) 369 f. Masters 137 n. 101 gives a summary of modern scholars' positions on the possibility of subversive content of the poem.

33–8 At the outset of the invocation, the text once again engages with ostensible Augustan positivism and redeploys the received language of panegyric within new, more openly ambiguous, contexts. A model of basic importance for the present passage is Hor. *Carm.* 1.2. Horace considers to which of the gods (Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.25–30; cf. 47 f.) the Vestals and the people of Rome might turn for assistance *ruentis imperi rebus* (Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.25 f.; cf. 80 *in se magna ruunt*) and for expiation of the civil war (Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.29 f.); a concept distorted at 33–45, esp. 37 f., 44 f.), before settling upon the figure of the emperor—whose earthly image the gods assume (Hor. *Carm.* 1.41–4; inverted at 47–52)—and a prayer for his delayed apotheosis (Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.45; cf. 45–7). However, note the manner in which Lucan inverts his model: Nero is the acceptable price and ultimate outcome of the civil war, not its expiation; Nero is an analogue to Jupiter (33–7), not his vice regent on earth (Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.29 f.); absent is any notion of external wars under Nero (as at Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.51 f.); Nero's apotheosis is the *precondition* of peace. Of particularly relevance as well is Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.37–80 (Paschalis (1982) 342–6), and the gigantomachic imagery of the *Aeneid* (Hardie (1986) 85–156, 381), in which gigantomachy as a precursor to the rule of Jupiter allegorizes Augustus' rise to power in the wake of civil war.

Structurally, the transition to panegyric is skilfully contrived by means of a logical conditional sentence in which three protases each explore different aspects of the civil war's significance. The first clause establishes that civil war was a necessary precondition of Nero's accession. The next two clauses explore further the two elements in this equation. One establishes the association between the emperor and the supreme divinity of the pantheon (another index of Nero's comparison with Jupiter will be made explicit at 45–62, in the universal order that will follow his apotheosis). The other clause

associates the threat to universal order inherent in civil war with its mythological precedent, and thereby foreshadows one of the major thematic preoccupations of the poem, that the civil war was a symptom of cosmic dissolution. These three protases are capped by two apodoses in apposition to each other which reiterate the conviction that Nero's accession was the worthwhile result of civil war, and introduces the theme of the *scelera ipsa nefasque* that 38–45 will further explore.

33 quod si non aliam uenturo fata Neroni: at this point, *Comm. Bern.* is sure of the purpose of the invocation: *omnis his locus gratiam captat Caesaris et fauorem*. Later in this same section it entertains the possibility of a less adulatory undercurrent to the apostrophe (56–7 n.). *quod si* is a prosaic construction incorporated into epic diction by Lucan (8x). It is used with greater frequency by Lucretius (28x) and Propertius (21x). For figures and brief comments on individual poets: Schmalz and Hofmann (1928) 718; Axelson (1945) 47 f.

non aliam . . . uiam: that is, than the loss of empire and the devastation of Italy portrayed at 14–32. This backward glance helps to effect the logical transition from proposition to invocation.

fata . . . | inuenere uiam: a Vergilian phrase: A. 3.395, 10.113 (Getty). After Lucan: *Stat. Silv.* 5.1.145. Murdock (1970) 44 f. has argued that the plural *fata* is generally used of felicitous *fata*, whereas the singular most often indicates an infelicitous act of fate. There are several passages in which *fatum* and *fortuna* are differentiated from each other (in this book, 70–94, 264 f., 392–5, but often elsewhere in the poem: perhaps the most explicit contrast between the two is 2.1–12). However, the poem (and Latin literature in general) is equivocal in its application of the two terms, especially in their relevance as governing principles of the cosmos (70 n.; again, 2.1–12 succinctly illustrates this equivocal application). It is an issue that has at times been exacerbated, *inter alia*, by the idea that these abstractions replace the divine machinery of the poem; also by the conviction that Lucan was completely consistent in his use of philosophical terminology. In general, though, it has been shown that *fortuna* is more consistently identified and treated as a causative agent in the

dealings of mankind (Murdock (1970) esp. 8–41, 188–221, 227–9; Ahl (1974) 584–90).

34 magno . . . parantur: reduces the triumph of Jupiter over the race of giants to an economic transaction; imagery shortly to be used of Nero at 37 f. *scelera ipsa nefasque | hac mercede placent*. But the ablative of price here is also the first example in *BC* of its relentless—and often (as here) sardonic—punning off the name of Pompey, on which Feeney (1986) 239–43.

35 caelumque suo seruire Tonanti: the *–que* is explanatory (Kenney (1971) on *Lucr.* 3.346). The phrase adapts *Hor. Carm.* 3.5.1 f. *caelo tonantem credidimus Iouem | regnare* (Paschalis (1982) 343); here the possessive adjective *suo* points to the existence of *noster Tonans*, Nero: first the gods, and then the Roman people learn to serve in the aftermath of upheaval. In both cases, the *princeps* is equated with Jupiter; but the significance lies in the comparative contexts of each poem. The addition of Britain and Parthia to the empire (i.e. *bella habitura triumphos*) is posited by Horace as prerequisites for this association at 3.5.2–4 *praesens diuus habebitur | Augustus adiectis Britannis | imperio grauibusque Persis*. In Lucan, not only do both protagonists ignore these outstanding spheres of obligation in Rome's foreign policy (10–12, the East; 17 f., Britain) but the price has already been paid for Nero's apotheosis at 45–62 by the *scelera ipsa nefasque* of civil war at 37. At 3.315–20 the Massilians, wishing to avoid entering the civil war, will equate Jupiter with Caesar in the same terms as Nero is now associated with the god:

si caelicolis furor arma dedisset
aut si terrigenae temptarent astra gigantes,
non tamen auderet pietas humana uel armis
uel uotis prodesse Ioui, sortisque deorum
ignarum mortale genus per fulmina tantum
sciret adhuc caelo solum regnare Tonantem.

caelum: the gods by metonymy (*Serv. A.* 11.125 *pro his qui in caelo sunt*; *TLL* 3.94.27–79). The word is used consistently throughout *BC* (85x) as a less poetic alternative to *polus* (31x): Bramble (1982) 541.

36 saeuorum ... post bella Gigantum: underscores the guilt of the civil war protagonists once more, by equating Pompey and Caesar with the mythological threat to universal stability and order represented in the gigantomachy (see Hardie (1986) 381; Feeney 297–301). Aspects of the imagery are revisited at 3.314–20, 6.410–12, 7.144–50, 8.551. Ovid's account of the gigantomachy (*Met.* 1.151–62) is relevant to Lucan's present incorporation of the myth in both its emphasis upon the disruption of cosmic stability alluded to by our poet and in the association between the revolt of the giants and the violent nature of the human race:

neue foret terris securior arduus aether,
adfectasse ferunt regnum caeleste gigantas
altaque congestos struxisse ad sidera montis.
tum pater omnipotens misso perfregit Olympum
fulmine et excussit subiecto Pelion Ossae.
obruta mole sua cum corpora dira iacerent,
perfusam multo natorum sanguine Terram
immaduisse ferunt calidumque animasse cruorem
et, ne nulla suae stirpis monimenta manerent,
in faciem vertisse hominum; sed et illa propago
contemptrix superum saevaeque avidissima caedis
et violenta fuit: scires e sanguine natos.

37 iam nihil, o superi, querimur: cf. *Met.* 7.644 *querorque | in superis opis esse nihil. queror + nihil* as adverbial acc. is a prose construction (e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 1.9.10, 2.79.3) invariably accompanied by *de* + abl. (as at 5.762 f.) until its introduction into verse.

iam: the inference is 'no longer' (Haskins).

o superi: indicative of the greater personal involvement of the narrative persona adopted by Lucan. The apostrophe carries with it clear emotional overtones: Hofmann and Szantyr (1965) 26. It is a formula used rarely in other epic poets (Verg. 1x; Ov. 3x; Stat. 1x; Sil. 2x) never by the narrator himself. In Lucan, it is used 11x and the narrator himself directly beseeches the gods with it here, 5.297, 7.58, 7.869, 8.542.

superi: Lucan is much fonder of the term *superi* (86x) as an alternate to *deus* than were either Vergil (20x) or Ovid (27x) in their epic poems. In a work that eschews the traditional divine machinery of epic, it is instructive to note that the gods are referred

to more times in Lucan (229x) than in the *Aeneid* (200x). The *Metamorphoses* dwarfs *BC* by 3,935 lines and is obsessed with the behaviour of the gods, and yet mentions them only 92x more (321x).

38–45 These lines apostrophizing Nero (as Caesar) amplify and further explore the implications of the apodoses of lines 37 f. In their careful enumeration of the exact price of Nero's accession—battle by battle, and following so closely upon the heels of Italy's devastation in civil war—they illustrate one of the predominant complicating factors in Lucan's invocation of his emperor: the implied pressure on Nero to justify this calculation of profit and loss (see *Introd.* §1(d)).

38 hac mercede placent: the same price required by Vergil's Juno in exchange for the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia at Verg. *Aen.* 7.317 (itself an allusion to the civil war narrated by Lucan: Horsfall (2000) ad loc) *hac gener atque socer coeant mercede suorum: | sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, uirgo, | et Bellona manet te pronuba.*

diros...campos: cf. 4.803 *dira...Pharsalia* (Getty). Lucan's repeated application of the epithet to the central event of his poem speaks to the adjectival insistence of his epic and to his conception of Pharsalus as the event which embodied the suicide of the republic. In *BC*, *dirus* is used often and exclusively in association with death (3.652, 4.231, 4.790, 5.372, 5.764); the dead (4.788); the omens which foretell death (112, 558, 564, 614, 2.6, 3.9, 4.551); the insanity which precedes death (355, 7.51); or the instruments, rituals, or circumstances which bring about death (444, 2.180, 3.404, 8.677, 9.820), especially battle (3.150, 3.312, 3.370, 4.705, 7.689). This force of the adjective is especially brought out by its use in association with Medusa (9.698), Pompey's death (9.1010, 10.2), and with the necromancy of book six (a scene uniting all of the above listed elements: 444, 501, 507, 564, 581, 683); cf. Fordyce (1977) on Verg. *A.* 7.324.

Pharsalia: the battle of Pharsalus took place on 9 August 48 (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.2.190 f., 208). The Pompeian forces, at 50,000, outnumbered the legions of Caesar 2:1, but the battle was decided by Caesar's anticipation of a cavalry attack upon his right wing (Caes. *Civ.* 3.86.3 f, 88.5, 89.4). Pompey's camp was captured, and on the morning of 10 August, 23,000 men surrendered to Caesar (Caes. *Civ.* 3.91–8,

107.1; Plut. *Caes.* 46.3; Cass. Dio 41.62.1). Caesar's estimate was that 15,000 men had died (*Caes. Civ.* 3.99.4), of whom Pollio claimed 6,000 were citizens (cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 72.4, *Caes.* 46.3; App. *B Civ.* 2.345 f.).

39 Poeni saturentur sanguine manes: the battle of Thapsus. It was fought on 4 April 46 after the North African town was blockaded by sea (*B. Afr.* 49–78) and besieged. The republican forces attempted surrender but were executed by Caesar's veterans: 10,000 died (*B. Afr.* 80–5; Cass. Dio 43.7.1–9.1; Plut. *Caes.* 53). Its primary significance in the present context is that Cato committed suicide in Utica upon reports of the defeat suffered at Thapsus (*B. Afr.* 87 f.; Cass. Dio 43.10 f.; Plut. *Cat. Min.* 58.13–72.3 esp. 66.2, *Caes.* 54.1 f.; Cic. *Att.* 12.4.2). The phrase is a variation on Verg. *G.* 1.491 f. *nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro | Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos*, and Lucan's *sanguine* here may be replicating Vergil's pun on the Thracian mountain range; cf. also Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.29–31 *quis non Latino sanguine pinguior | campus sepulcris inopia proelia | testatur*; Lucan's take is adapted at Sil. 11.565 *sanguine Dardanio Rutulos saturauimus agros*.

manes: on aspects of this word see Hunink (1992) on Luc. 3.13 with references.

40 ultima funesta concurrant proelia Munda: a golden line, in which adjectives and nouns are arranged around the verb in the pattern abCAB ('two substantives and two adjectives with a verb betwixt to keep the peace', so Dryden in the preface to his *Sylvae*: Wilkinson (1963) 215–17 for an overview). The figure is often used to convey a sense of monumentality, or as an elegant or emphatic means of rounding off periods. In the present case it is used to cap an ascending tricolon of jussive subjunctive clauses. Other golden lines in book one are found at 62, 95, 105, 106, 180, 188, 247, 269, 323, 382, 398, 476, 500, 526, 530, 568, 581, 600, 613, 620, 691. Near golden arrangements are at 18, 240, 266, 371 (all CabAB); 27 (abABC); 98 (AaCBb); 117, 555 (aAbCB); 122, 472 (aCbBA); 189, 443 (AabCB); 321, 601 (AbACB); 396, 616 (CaBbA); 402, 541, 573 (CabBA); 597 (aACbB); and 612 (AbCAB).

Munda: the battle was fought on 17 March 45 in Spain against the sons of Pompey, Sextus and Gnaeus (*B. Hisp.* 28.1, 31.8). Caesar's

8,000 cavalry were decisive, whose charge carried the battle after heavy infantry casualties (Plut. *Caes.* 56.2–4; Vell. 2.55.3, App. *B Civ.* 2.432 f.; Suet. *Iul.* 36; Flor. 2.13.82 f.; Cass. Dio 43.37.4 f.; Frontin. *Str.* 2.8.13; Eutr. 6.24). The casualties are numbered in the sources at 30,000 (*B. Hisp.* 31.9; Plut. *Caes.* 56.3; Oros. 6.16.8). Of Pompey's sons, Sextus fled and Gnaeus was killed in flight (*B. Hisp.* 32.4–39.3; Cass. Dio 45.39.1–4; App. *B Civ.* 2.434–9; Plut. *Caes.* 56.6; Flor. 2.13.86). This engagement was the final battle in the civil war, hence *ultima*.

41 Perusina fames: Lucan now adds the principal engagements in the rise to power of the triumvirs and of Octavian himself. He begins with Octavian's siege of L. Antonius (the brother of the triumvir) in the town of Perusia, as part of his consolidation of the West. Antonius and his forces were starved into capitulation in February 41: Octavian spared the man and even made him governor of Spain (App. *B Civ.* 5.54.229), but the local magistrates of Perusia and a number of senators were put to death (Cass. Dio 48.14.4; App. *B Civ.* 5.48.203, 49.207), and the city itself was sacked (Vell. Pat. 2.74.4; App. *B Civ.* 5.49.204). The accounts of the killings which followed the siege were soon extravagantly amplified (Suet. *Aug.* 15; Cass. Dio 48.14.4). The siege had recently been invoked at Sen. *Cl.* 1.11.

Mutinae labores: these were two battles, fought on 14 and 21 April 43 at Forum Gallorum in Northern Italy between Mutina and Bononia. M. Antonius had besieged D. Brutus at Mutina in response to the latter's refusal to evacuate the province of Cisalpine Gaul. At Cicero's urging (*Phil.* 5.46) both the consuls of the year, A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa Caetronianus, were sent to Mutina along with Octavian to assist Brutus against Antonius (Aug. *Anc.* 1.3; Liv. *per.* 118; Cass. Dio 46.29.2). The forces under the consuls and Octavian were able to lift the siege after two bloody encounters. Pollio attested the loss of life (Cic. *Fam.* 10.33.1; App. *B Civ.* 3.68.281). But Antony had fled and both consuls had died in the fighting, with the result that now Octavian had sole command of the armies: he was made consul for the first time, at 19 years old, for the remainder of 43 (Aug. *Anc.* 1.4).

42 accedant fatis: cf. Ov. *Her.* 7.135; Tr. 1.8.47 (Getty).

43 Leucas: the battle of Actium took place on 2 September 31, perhaps the result of Antonius' attempt to break the naval blockade enforced against himself and Cleopatra by Agrippa and Octavian months earlier. Despite his numerical superiority (500 ships as opposed to Octavian's 400), Antonius was hindered by defections as the conflict approached (Plut. *Ant.* 59, 63; Cass. Dio 50.13.6, 8, 51.4.3; Vell. 2.84.2, Suet. *Ner.* 3.2). 300 ships were captured (Aug. *Anc.* 3.4), while Antony and Cleopatra fled to Egypt. *Leucas* is Actium by metonymy: it is an island of the coast of Actium, which Agrippa and Octavian had captured during the course of their blockade.

seruilia bella sub Aetna: Lucan completes his catalogue of civil war battles with the earlier conflict between the forces of Octavian and those of Sextus Pompeius off the coast of Sicily. Operations, engineered by Agrippa, took place after 1 July and culminated with the battle of Naulochus on 3 September 36. Of Sextus' 300 ships, only 17 remained uncaptured after the battle. He escaped to the East where he was killed after the defection of his generals to Antonius. The immediate upshot of the battle was Octavian's depriving Lepidus of his triumviral powers and his subsequent control of forty legions.

seruilia bella: not only those conscripted by Sextus Pompeius (as per Aug. *Anc.* 25.1, 27.3); 20,000 freed slaves had been conscripted by Octavian in the operations against Sextus (Suet. *Aug.* 36.1; Cass. Dio 48.49.1, 49.1.5).

ardenti . . . Aetna: cf. Hor. *Ars* 465, Ov. *Met.* 2.220, 15.340 (Getty; Sen. *Her. O.* 286 must be discarded). To these add Sen. *Ben.* 6.36.1; and, perhaps, Lucr. 2.592 *nam multis succensa locis ardent sola terrae, | ex imis uero furit ignibus impetus Aetnae.*

44 multum Roma tamen debet ciuilibus armis: Lucan echoes Seneca meditating Rome's debt to Scipio Africanus at *Ep.* 86.5 *ille 'Carthaginis horror', cui Roma debet quod tantum semel capta est*; but our poet converts his paradigm into paradox. It is an intertextual relationship that strongly contrasts the efforts of Africanus against a foreign enemy with the *bella . . . nullos habitura triumphos* of Lucan's protagonists. It is also significant that in Seneca, Rome's debt is owed to the man; in Lucan, the state owes its debt to its own suicide.

ciuilibus armis: a common line ending in Lucan (12x): again at 325.

45–59 The apotheosis of Nero.

45 **cum statione peracta**: cf. Ov. *Tr.* 2.219 *scilicet imperii princeps statione relictā* (Getty) in which *statio* is used of the emperor's responsibilities, a variation on OLD 5 'guard duty; a state or position of alert (in warfare, bodyguard, etc)'; cf. also Verg. *A.* 9.222 *statione relictā*. Of all the examples of this expression (the above, Luc. 7.235, Stat. *Theb.* 11.240), only here is *peracta* used instead of *relictā*. In contrast to its Augustan models, only Lucan's panegyric lays no emphasis upon the emperor's earthly deeds: it commences with the death of the emperor.

46–51 Details are reprised in apostrophe of Venus to Domitian at Sil. 3.627–9 *tarda senectam | hospitia excipient caeli, solioque Quirinus | concedet, mediumque parens fraterque locabunt*.

46 **astra petes serus, praelati**: the details underscore that Nero's death is a matter of choice (Haskins; cf. OLD *praefero* 8b). Certainly, the idea of a slow or deferred return or ascent to divinity was undoubtedly present in Hellenistic panegyric and abides in Latin poetry: Verg. *G.* 1.24–42 esp. 24 *mox*; Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.45 f. *serus in caelum redeas diuque | laetus intersis populo Quirini* (cf. NH ad loc.); Prop. 3.11.50; Ov. *Met.* 15.868–70; *Tr.* 2.57, 5.2.52, 5.5.61, 5.11.25 f.; *Eleg. Maec.* 2.27; Vell. 2.31.2; *Anth. Pal.* 5.235.6; Sen. *Dial.* 11.12.5; Sil. 3.626 f.; Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.22; *Theb.* 1.30; Mart. 8.39.5, 13.4.1.

praelati regia caeli: evokes Vergil's praise of Augustus at *G.* 1.503 *iam pridem nobis caeli regia, Caesar, inuidet*.

47–8 **seu ... seu**: the allusion to Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.45 f. at line 46 makes it probable that 1.2.33–44 *siue ... siue ... siue* [considering the divine form which might be assumed by the *Caesaris ultor*] is behind Lucan's organization of this section.

47 **gaudente polo**: plays off the set pieces of Augustan panegyric: at Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.45 f. the emperor is joyful (*laetus*) at the prospect of his long stay on earth. Here emotion is deferred from emperor to environment, and the setting is displaced from earth to heaven (OLD *polus* 2a); cf. also Ov. *Tr.* 5.2.51 *te desideret aether*.

sceptra tenere: this is, by metonymy, 'the power symbolized by a sceptre, sovereignty, kingship' (OLD *sceptrum* 2). *sceptra tenere* is not

Ovidian (*contra* Getty): Verg. A. 1.57, then Ovid adopted it enthusiastically (*Ep.* 7.152; *Rem.* 480; *Met.* 1.596, 3.265, 11.560; *Fast.* 2.432, 4.265, 4.594, 6.506; *Pont.* 1.8.22, 3.2.61) and the phrase abided in epic usage: again in Lucan at 8.208 and 559; Stat. *Theb.* 1.140, 2.429, 11.507; V. Fl. 2.590, 5.483, 5.684.

Historical evidence suggests that Lucan's choice of gods (48 n.) within this section was influenced by the contemporary public imagery of his emperor. The association of the emperor with Jupiter played an important role in the development of the imperial cult in the first century AD (e.g. Fears (1981) 74). Nero promoted his images on a number of numismatic issues dating to the period AD 64–8 (*BMC* 1.67–76), and was the first living emperor to be depicted bearing the *aegis* of Jupiter on his coin portraits (*BMC* 1.122–5, 127–9, 131–4; Hannestad (1986) 113). Less reliable evidence presents itself in the emperor's identification with Zeus *Eleutherios* in Greece and in the dedication of the so-called 'Jupiter Column' in Moguntiacum *pro salute Neronis*. These may be of greater relevance to eastern attitudes to the emperor and the Romanization of Germany (Burnett (1998–99) 1238–44; Warmington (1981) 120 f.; Griffin (1984) 217; Kleiner (1992) 157 f.).

48 flammigeros: coined by Lucan as a natural extension of the common archaic synonym *flammifer* (Enn. *trag.* 25 J; Jocelyn (1969) ad loc. on the term). It is adopted at Stat. *Theb.* 8.675; *Silv.* 1.2.119, 3.1.181, 4.3.136; V. Fl. 5.581. The suggestion that Lucan uses these sorts of compound adjectives sparingly (Fantham 35) requires revision. Book one offers up 14 further instances: *semirutis* (24), *belligeri* (62), *frugifero* (136), *turrigero* (188), *aestiferae* (206), *sonipes* (220, 294), *piniferae* (389), *flammiger* again (415), *crinigeros* (463), *tauriferis* (473), *ueliferi* (500), *ensiferi* (665), *nubiferae* (691). For the rest of the epic, compound adjectives in *-fer*, *-ger*, *-ru-*, *-fic-*, *-son-*, *-fid-*, or *-pes* are distributed as follows 1: 15x; 2: 8x; 3: 11x; 4: 7x; 5: 8x; 6: 6x; 7: 10x; 8: 6x; 9: 18x; 10: 2x (the unusual lengths of books nine and ten may help account for their high and low frequencies). On the use and effect of these compound adjectives see e.g. Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.215–16; Coleman (1999) 60–3; Maltby (1999) 386 f. Lucan most

often favours compounds based upon the suffix *-ifer*; adjectives based on *-iger* are deployed much less frequently.

conscondere currus: a frequent collocation (*OLD conscondo* 2): cf. Lucr. 6.47; Ov. *Tr.* 3.8.1; Man. 5.10 (Getty); add Liv. 38.47.4; Prop. 2.10.23. Mounting a divine chariot is a theme which is found as early as Homer (e.g. *Od.* 8.41–6); *currus* here is a commonly found poetic plural (*TLL* 4.1519.84), following Homeric usage (e.g. *Il.* 4.419 ἐξ ὀχέων, 4.226 ἄρματα): Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.574.

Phoebi: Nero went to considerable lengths to associate himself with Apollo. Suet. *Ner.* 53.1 records that he was specifically associated with Apollo and the sun god through his singing and chariot racing. Nero's coin issues show him wearing the radiate crown of Apollo and as Apollo *Citharoedus* himself on some obverses (radiate: *BMC* 1.52–61, 120 f., 210, 213 f., 219–24; as Apollo *Citharoedus*: *BMC* 1.234–8, 254–8). He was also saluted as 'Nero Apollo' upon his return from Greece by the senate and crowd in attendance at his *aduentus* (Cass. Dio 62.20.5). Whether Lucan chose Jupiter (47 n.) and Apollo because of Nero's public imagery or because of their presence within Augustan verse panegyric is inconclusive. Nevertheless, the choice is not mutually exclusive and the Apolline element has introduced a particularly Neronian *color* to the standard motifs of panegyric.

mutato sole: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.41 *mutata... figura*, of Mercury's descent to Earth in the guise of Augustus (43 f. *patiens uocari | Caesaris ultor*). Lucan inverts his inheritance: Nero will ascend to heaven and assume the guise and responsibilities of the god *Sol*.

50 igne uago lustrare: the poet draws on and adapts stock poetic imagery applied to the movement of the sun and moon: Lucr. 5.575, 693, 1437; Verg. *A.* 4.6, 607; 7.148. Near the culmination of the epic as we have it, similar imagery will be applied to Caesar as he attempts to escape from the besieged palace of Ptolemy at 10.460 *incerto lustrat uagus atria cursu*. Used of astronomical phenomena, *uagus* and *uagari* normally indicate 'no more than that the object appears and disappears' (Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.183; cf. Housman on 7.425 and Man. 2.71; Fordyce (1961) on Catul. 64.271).

numine: 'divine power', a word belonging to archaic Italian religion and of varying nuance: 'power', 'divinity', 'will', 'spirit' (Austin (1955) on Verg. *A.* 4.204 and 4.269).

51 **iurisque tui**: this extension of the partitive genitive is a prose construction (cf. Liv. 21.53.5); Lucan reuses it at 7.55; see Dilke (1960) 90.

natura relinquet: cf. Lucr. 1.446 and *Met.* 4.589 *sibilat: hanc illi uocem natura reliquit* (the last stage of Cadmus' transformation into a snake).

52 **quis deus esse uelis**: *Comm. Bern.* cite Verg. *G.* 1.29–40; Lucan condenses his model to summarize Vergil's five lines, and thereby orientates the reader within the tradition of Augustan panegyric.

regnum mundi: resumes the imagery of line 46 f. *regia caeli* | *excipiet*.

53–4 These lines mark a variation on the prayer at Verg. *G.* 1.36–9 to Augustus that he not assume regency over the underworld:

nam te nec sperant Tartara regem,
nec tibi regnandi ueniat tam dira cupido,
quamuis Elysios miretur Graecia campos
nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem.

Cf. also Sen. *Her. O.* 1565–7 *sedis arctoe spatium tenebis* | *an grauis Titan ubi promit aestus?* | *an sub occasu tepido nitebis*.

53 **Arctoo**: a poetic borrowing from Seneca (Costa (1973) on Sen. *Med.* 683).

54 **calidus**: cf. *tepedo* at Sen. *Her. O.* 1567 (quoted *ad* 53–4).

uergitur Austri: 'the south' by metonymy (for the wind: 234 n.); *uergitur* is passive in form, middle in meaning.

55 **unde tuam uideas . . . Romam**: cf. Sen. *Her. O.* 1568 f. *unde com-misso resonare ponto* | *audies Calpen?*

uideas obliquo sidere Romam: cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.787 *illa deam obliquo fugientem lumine cernens*; Stat. *Theb.* 1.159–61 *quasque procul terras obliquo sidere tangit* | *auius aut Borea gelidas madidiue tepentes* | *igne Noti?* (Getty). *Comm. Bern.* promotes this line as a thinly veiled allusion to a squint that reputedly afflicted Nero (*quoniam strabus Nero fuit*). This interpretation has had its share of adherents in modern criticism also, e.g. Ahl 47 f. It should be considered in light of Dewar's (1994) 199 f. reminder that there is no ancient evidence to suggest that the emperor suffered from a squint: Suet.

Ner. 51 oculis caesis et hebetioribus does not strictly refer to a squint (see Introd. §1(d)).

56 aetheris inmensi: amplifying the usual epic *magnus aether* (μέγας αἰθήρ) and even the *maximus aether* of Lucr. 5.473 (see Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.356, 459).

56–7 partem si presseris unam, | sentiet axis onus: cf. Ov. *Met.* 9.273 *sensit Atlas pondus*; Sen. *Her. O.* 256 f. *quancumque partem sedis aetherae premis, | coniunx Tonantis*, 1569 f. *loca quae sereni | deprimes caeli?* *Comm. Bern.* interprets this as a second joke at the expense of the emperor, this time an allusion to Nero's obesity: *iocatus est. dicitur enim Nero obeso corpore*. Dewar (1994) 200 has challenged the factual basis for this allegation. He reads Suet. *Ner. 51 ceruice obesa, uentre proiecto* as implying that the emperor's projecting stomach is singled out because it is uncharacteristic of the body which it distinguishes: that is, it refers to a potbelly. He cites by way of contrast Suet. *Dom. 18 deformis et obesitate uentris*, taken to refer to a paunch; add Suet. *Vit. 17 erat in eo... uenter obesus* (Vitellius; cf. Kleiner (1992) 169 f. for his iconography) (see Introd. §1(d)).

57 librati pondera caeli | ...tene: Getty notes this as a variation of Ov. *Met.* 1.12 f.; *Fast.* 2.490, 6.271; cf. also Sen. *Med.* 401 *dum terra caelum media libratum feret*. Heitland xc noted the predilection of our poet for metaphors derived from the scale (he cites here; 2.41; 3.55 f., 337 f., 439; 4.189; 5.37 f., 339; 6.603; 7.118; 8.280; 9.19). *librati* may pun off the constellation *Libra*, the locus of Augustus' apotheosis, a contender for his natal sign, and the natal sign of Rome (Getty (1951) 100–1, 106 n. 12). Also relevant here is the poet's implication of the difficulty of the balancing act required to prevent precisely the kind of cosmic dissolution he has taken as his subject matter (Lapidge (1979) 344–70).

58 orbe...medio: this motif offers a compressed variation of the suggestion at Verg. *G.* 1.32–5 that Augustus might assume a place within the zodiac between the Virgin and the Scorpion's Claws. Haskin's interpretation of the phrase ('on the sphere's mid-most point', i.e. on the outer surface of the sky's sphere, directly above Rome) accords well with the context established by 57 *librati pondera caeli* and is supported by Jupiter's position at Verg. *A.* 1.225 f.

uertice caeli | *constitit*. Getty's contention that the phrase means 'in the zodiac' is unnecessary and untenable: the passage that prompted Housman to declare that 'the zodiac... is called *medius*', 9.531–43, was qualified by the genitive *signorum* and does not apply here. Getty himself seemed only half convinced ('Even in the zodiac, of course, Nero would not be directly above Rome, and his light would be oblique, though not so oblique as if he were within the Arctic circle').

pars aetheris illa sereni: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.5 f. *risit* [*Venus*], *et aether* | *protinus ex illa parte serenus erat*; Sen. *Her. O.* 1569 f. (quoted *ad* 56–7).

59 *nullaeque obstant a Caesare nubes*: an apt allusion to the *Metamorphoses*, given the emphasis upon Nero's assumption of the duties of the sun at 47–50. Cf. Vertumnus at Ov. *Met.* 14.768 f. *qualis ubi oppositas nitidissima solis imago* | *euicit nubes nullaeque obstante reluxit*. *obsto* is 'to block the view of' (*OLD* 2b) with *a* + abl. indicating the source of light.

60–2 The description of the earthly benefits of Nero's apotheosis draws on an epic tradition of describing the opening or closing of the 'gates of war' (referring to those of the Temple of Janus: Var. *L.* 5.165) at the inception or resolution of a state of war: a motif configures Nero as a new manifestation of Augustus: cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.253–5 *tuisque* | *auspiciis totum confecta duella per orbem* | *claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Ianum*; Aug. *Anc.* 13 *Ianum Quirinum, quem claussum esse maiores nostri uoluerunt, cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta uictoriis pax... senatus claudendum esse censuit*; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 22.1. Our earliest epic model is Enn. *Ann.* 225 Sk. *postquam Discordia taetra* | *Belli ferratos postes portasque refregit*. Vergil re-employed motifs from this passage at two places within the *Aeneid*, at 1.291–6:

aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis:
cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis
claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus
saeua sedens super arma et centum uinctus aënis
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.

and 7.607–10, 620–3:

sunt geminae Belli portae (sic nomine dicunt)
 religione sacrae et saeui formidine Martis;
 centum aerei claudunt uectes aeternaque ferri
 robora, nec custos absistit limine Ianus.

 tum regina deum caelo delapsa morantis
 impulit ipsa manu portas, et cardine uerso
 Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postis.

Lucan's response is creative and reactionary: at 61 f. the paradigmatic scenes of Ennius and Vergil are evoked to describe the *closing* of the gates by a *benevolent* personification. Lucan has varied the opening of his line from the standard *Belli ferratos* while keeping the ideas behind the words intact (*ferrea belligeri*); at the same time the motif of Janus standing watch over his *limen* (Verg. A. 7.610) is compressed and included within the second half of the line, and the martial epithet is displaced from the building to the god within.

60 positus...armis: adapts Verg. A. 1.291 *aspera tum positus mitescunt saecula bellis*.

sibi consulat: a construction almost exclusive to prose authors before Lucan (Hor. *Epist.* 1.17.1 is the exception); again at 8.257.

61 inque uicem: cf. Ov. *Ep.* 17.180 for *in uicem* to mean 'one another' (Haskins); again at 7.177.

missa: by common poetic diction, the simple form is substituted for the compound *emissa*; cf. e.g. 64 *moueo* for *promoueo*.

62 ferrea belligeri conpescat limina Iani: a golden line completes golden-age imagery. The adjective is also applied to individual gods at Sen. *Her. F.* 901 (Pallas), *Phaed.* 808 (Mars). Suet. *Ner.* 13.2 records that Nero did in fact close the doors of the Temple of Janus after the supplication of the Parthian king Tiridates in AD 66 (*nullo residuo bello*). The event was advertised repeatedly on numismatic issues bearing the legend PACE P. R. TERRA MARIQ. PARTA IANUM CLUSIT S. C. (and the variation UBIQ. for TERRA MARIQ.) in the period 65–6 (BMC 1.64–6, 111–13, 156–67, 198–200, 201–4). For *belliger* see 48 n.

63 sed mihi iam numen: ‘...although the war in the storm [72–80] is civil war past, it represents war in general, or serves as an image of conflict... that is always imminent... if war appears, Nero will provide the right leadership now, on earth, before he becomes a god, hence *sed mihi iam numen*’ (Saylor (1999) 547). Not so. The phrase refers to poetic inspiration (*OLD numen* 2b; cf. esp. *Ov. Am.* 3.9.18, *Fast.* 6.537), as the rest of the clause makes clear. Thompson and Bruère (1968) 5 compare Verg. *A.* 1.290 *uocabitur hic quoque uotis* (of Augustus).

uates: the idea of the poet as prophet is present early in Greek poetry and most probably grew from the notion of the poet as one whom the Muses loved (cf. *Alcm.* 30; *Thgn.* 769; *Pind.* fr. 94a, *Pae.* 6.6, fr. 150; *Pl. Ion* 534e; *Callim. Hymn* 3.186; *Theoc. Id.* 16.29, 17.115, 22.116 f.; *Ap. Rhod.* 4.1381). In Latin, the word *uates* described a seer who uttered prophecies in verse (*Var. L.* 7.36, although his description is anachronistic); despite an early period of apparent derision of *uates* (e.g. *Enn. Ann.* 207 Sk. with Skutsch (1985) ad loc.), the term became an elevated (but essentially synonymous) alternative to *poeta* in the Augustan period, when it was used self-consciously by poets to imply their own divine inspiration (cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 7.25–8, 9.33 f.; *G.* 2.476; *A.* 7.41; *Hor. Epod.* 17.44; *Carm.* 1.1.35, 1.31.2, 3.1.3, 4.9.28; *Ep.* 2.1.119 f.; *Prop.* 3.1.3, 4.6.1; *Ov. Am.* 3.9.17 f.; *Met.* 15.622 f.). For *uates* and its relationship to the *poeta*: e.g. Dahlmann (1948) 337–53; Newman (1967) 99–206; Skutsch (1968) 28 n. 9; NH on *Hor. Carm.* 1.1.35, 1.31.2; Coleman (1977) on Verg. *Ecl.* 7.28; Skutsch (1985) 372; Hardie (1986) 16–22; Clausen (1994) on Verg. *Ecl.* 9.32–6.

63–4 pectore... | accipio: cf. Verg. *A.* 6.78 in regard to the possession of a prophet by a god (Haskins); Getty noted the linguistic precedent at Verg. *A.* 9.276 f.; closer is *A.* 4.530 f.

64 mouentem: in place of *promoueo*; cf. Verg. *A.* 1.262 *longius et uoluens fatorum arcana mouebo* (Getty); add *Hor Carm.* 3.7.20 (if *mouet* is read rather than *monet*). *mouere* in the context of poetic production (cf. the related idiom with *cieo*) is archaic and poetic: *Enn. Ann.* 403 Sk. with Skutsch (1985) ad loc.; *Ov. Fast.* 3.11; Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.163.

Cirrhaea: a learned epithet for Delphic. The adjective is derived from the town of Cirrha on the Corinthian Gulf near Delphi; it first

appears in Latin at Sen. *Oed.* 269 to refer to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi by metonymy (*OLD* 2b; *TLL* 3.457.32–48). Lucan will deploy his own coinage, the adjective *Paraetoni* at 10.9, derived from the coastal town in North Africa and meaning ‘Egyptian’ or ‘Alexandrian’ (*OLD* 2; its literal use at 3.295 is from Ov. *Met.* 9.772).

65 sollicitare deum: cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.473; Sen. *Med.* 271 (Getty).

deum: the god *Cirrhaea secreta mouens* is Apollo.

Nysa: a city located on Mt. Meros in India where the worship of Bacchus was believed to have originated: Plin. *Nat.* 6.79; Serv. A. 6.805.

66 satis: *satis* here is euphemistic: ‘more than enough’, as in many Indo-European languages; the significance is not satisfaction, but exhaustion (NH on Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.1).

uires Romana: the juxtaposition effects a pun on Greek *ρώμη*, a context echoed again at 72 *nec se Roma ferens*; both lines exploit the civil war context of the pun at Hor. *Ep.* 16.2 *suus et ipsa Roma uiribus ruit*.

Romana . . . carmina: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.32.3 f. *age dic Latinum, | barbite, carmen*; perhaps also relevant is Verg. *G.* 2.176 *cano Romana per oppida carmen*. Statius commemorates Lucan at *Silv.* 2.7.53 with *carmen fortior exseris togatum*.

ad dandas . . . in carmina uires: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1.17; Man. 1.10 (Getty); add Ov. *Ib.* 248 f. The idea of a *carmen*’s *uires* goes back to Prop. 2.10.11; cf. Ov. *Her.* 15.197 and *Tr.* 1.6.29.

67–97 THE CAUSES OF THE WAR 1: FATE AND THE TRIUMVIRATE

Structure

Lines 67–9 initiate the final section of the proem, the *narratio* (67–182: cf. *Comm. Bern.* on 67; *contra* Serv. A. 1.8), comprising a lengthy meditation upon the causes of the civil war. Throughout the section, five primary reasons—the chain of destiny, the formation of the triumvirate, the deaths of Crassus and Julia, the disposition and characteristics of Lucan’s two protagonists, and the moral degeneration of the Roman people—are put forth and illustrated in

detail. At the conclusion of this catalogue the reader will be equipped for the launching of the narrative *in medias res* at 183.

Lines 70–97 present and illustrate the first two causes of the war, the *invidia fatorum series* (70–84) and the triumvirate's shared possession of Rome (84–97). The passage is clearly organized into two halves of similar length and structure. At 70–84, the theme is announced and restated repeatedly in appositive clauses that progress from the general concept (destiny) at 70 *invidia fatorum series*, to the relevant aspect of the concept at 70 f. *summīs negatum stare diu*, to the physical effects resulting from this aspect at 71 *nimio . . . sub pondere lapsus*, to the historical manifestation of this aspect at 72 *nec se Roma ferens*. An extended simile follows that casts this implosion as an event of cosmic scale and significance (71–80). The theme is then restated, first as a general rule, then as the historical consequence of this rule (81 f. *in se magna ruunt, laetis . . . numina rebus crescendi posuere modum*). A transitional sentence intervenes (82–4) and continues the theme of destiny's *invidia* (84, cf. 70) but shifts the focus from the causative agents in the republic's downfall to the instruments of these agents.

The second half of the passage mirrors the structure of the first. The second cause—*facta tribus dominis communis Roma*—is stated twice in clauses that progress from the fact of Rome's subjugation (85) to the pact by which this shared possession came about (85 f.). An apostrophe to the protagonists and a long temporal clause that re-employs much of the cosmological imagery established in the simile (89–93 *terra, tellus/fretum, pontum; nox/diem; Phoebe/Titan*) then build compounded *sententiae* that reinforce the inexorable futility of shared power (92 f.). The passage then concludes with an *exemplum* of this notion from Roman history at 93–7, Romulus' fratricide. Demonstrated here is the perennial nature of power's solitude and the fact that the humble origins of Rome did not debar her ancestors from their inclination towards civil bloodshed (a tradition exemplified in e.g. Hor. *Epod.* 7.17–20).

Lucan's first simile

At lines 72–80, a comparison is drawn between Rome's descent into civil war, made inevitable beneath the burden of her own good

fortune (70–2) and the Stoic concept of the conflagration, the *ἐκπύρωσις*, according to which at periodic intervals fire consumes all of the universe's matter. Here and throughout *BC*, Lucan uses language drawn from descriptions of the final conflagration, the Stoic universe, and its dissolution (Lapidge (1979) 359–70; cf. esp. *Sen. Ben.* 6.22.1, *Dial.* 6.26.6, 11.1.2; *Man.* 1.247–54, 2.60–6, 804–7). The classical references to this concept are collected at Long and Sedley (1987) 1.274–9, 2.271–7; Inwood and Gerson (1988) 96–127. Further discussion of the conflagration in general can be found at Sandbach (1975) 78 f.; Long (1985); Reesor (1989) 1–21. For discussions of the simile, see Getty 141–3; Aymard (1951) 100; Lebek 48–50; Lapidge (1979); Hardie (1986) 381; Johnson (1987) 14–18; Hinds (1987) 28 f.; Feeney 278 n. 127; Masters 63–5; Leigh 45; Hershkowitz (1998a) 201 f.; Tarrant (2002) 356–9.

Lucan escalates to cosmic proportions the catastrophic destruction of political strife: a pointed inversion of Vergil's comparison of natural and political strife in the *Aeneid*'s first simile at 1.148–53 (Morford (1967) 47; Lapidge (1979) 359; Hardie (1986) 381; Feeney 278 n. 127; Hershkowitz (1998a) 202). The emphasis upon the universal symbolism of civil war (cf. 7.134–7), the descent into chaos (cf. 5.634–6), the contravention of natural boundaries and phenomena (cf. Henderson (1988) 124, 135, 155), the emphasis upon *discordia* (cf. e.g. 98, 2.272, 5.299, 6.780), and the use of language that underscores the dissolution of union (*resoluere, excutere, turbare foedus*) all find consistent parallels in the text's presentation of civil war. A dominant nuance imported from the simile is the apocalyptic nature of the transition from one cycle to another. For interpretative problems associated with this simile see Roche (2005) 52–71.

67–8 Silius adapts details at 1.17–19 *tantarum causas irarum odiumque perenni | seruatum studio et mandata nepotibus arma | fas aperire mihi superasque recludere mentes*.

67 *fert animus*: the reference to Ov. *Met.* 1.1—along with the 'proemic syntax' of the next two lines (on which see Horsfall (2000) on Verg. *Aen.* 7.37)—announces a second proem, and a programmatic interaction with Ovid's epic poem, a predecessor whose influence pervades *BC* in equal measure with the *Aeneid* (see Introd. §4(b)),

but more than influence is implied. Lucan's narrator defines his own subject matter as metamorphic, in that it treats the transformation of the state from republic to empire and (as the text continually emphasizes) from the diminishing freedom of the late republic to the slavery of the imperial period (Tarrant (2002) 356). The allusion also foreshadows the extended simile of the world's reversion to chaos at 72–80, a passage which interacts with Ov. *Met.* 1.5–20 and inaugurates *BC*'s long flirtation with the analogy between civil war and primeval chaos, and further signals Lucan's inversion of the *Metamorphoses*' epic trajectory whereby that poem's ostensible intent is to chart the world's progress from chaos to the (new world) order of the Augustan age.

Beyond influence and content, the reference further articulates a key characteristic of Lucan's narrative technique, since in Ovid the phrase has been read as a declaration that the primary force behind the *Metamorphoses* is the poet's own rational intelligence rather than passive inspiration from the muses (Anderson (1996) 150). It is a narrative stance already observed in *BC*'s proem, in which Lucan has foregone the traditional invocation of the muses of epic poetry and in which historical principles have replaced divine anger as a causative force.

To Ov. *Ep.* 13.85; *Ars* 3.467; *Met.* 1.1, 1.775; Sall. *Iug.* 54.4; Hor. *Ep.* 1.14.8 f. (Getty), add Sall. *Cat.* 58.6; Liv. 30.12.14, 40.4.14; Pers. 4.7.

causas: Lucan now blends Vergilian references into the new beginning announced by his Ovidian allusion (Hinds (2002) 370; Tarrant (2002) 356). Vergil also seeks to reveal the causes of his narrative but asks for divine assistance in this task at A. 1.8–11:

Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso
quidue dolens regina deum tot uoluerit casus
insignem pietate uirum, tot adire labores
impulerit.

It is an allusion that Lucan will sustain through his similar use of indirect questions as at 68 f. *quid in arma furem | impulerit quid pacem excusserit orbi* and through vocabulary: 67 *causas*; 68 f. *quid...impulerit* (Lebek 46). The announcement that Lucan will

investigate *causas belli*, here and at 158, naturally activates historiographical nuances which extend back to Herodotus.

expromere: ‘disclose’ (*OLD* 3), a solemn, dignified verb (Tarrant (1976) on Sen. Ag. 419); with *causas*: Ov. *Fast.* 3.725. It is always in this *sedes*: Lucr. 2.887; Catul. 65.3; Verg. A. 2.280; *Catal.* 9.7; Luc. 1.360, 5.68; Stat. *Theb.* 2.101, 4.531; Sil. 6.532.

68 inmensumque aperitur opus: the language of the epic proem is sustained, this time by reference to (and competition with) the end of Vergil’s second invocation of the muses at A. 7.41–5 (cf. *Comm. Bern.*):

tu uatem, tu, diua, mone. dicam horrida bella,
dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges,
Tyrrenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam
Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo,
maius opus moueo.

Architectural metaphors (*inmensum opus*) for the act of composing poetry had been in use since at least Pind. *Ol.* 6.1–3, and the prevalence of the image in Greek and Latin literature has been well documented (see the overview at Masters 32 f. and add the prose references Liv. *pr.* 4; Petr. *Sat.* 118.6 *ecce belli ciuilis ingens opus*). Here, although the standard formula *surgit opus* is appropriately altered to suit the context (Lucan has not yet begun to construct his *opus*, he merely becomes aware of its enormity), the image is employed for the first time in the epic. It is a device to which Lucan will return. Masters 29–36 has argued that Lucan extends its usage to encompass self-reflexive references to the kind of poetry under composition, as at 2.678 f. floating earthworks as poem; 3.381 f., 394–8 *agger* as poem.

in arma furem: cf. Petr. 120.1.86 *in damna furem* (Getty).

68–9 quid in arma furem | inpulerit populum, quid pacem excusserit orbi: confronts and overturns both images just employed to illustrate the golden age of Nero’s apotheosis at 60–2. *in arma furem* | ... *populum* (a phrase that is otherwise reserved for Lucan’s Caesar: 2.439) inverts the first of the two images concluding the apostrophe to the emperor: upon Nero’s deification at 60 f. *tum genus humanum positis sibi consulat armis | inque uicem gens omnis amet. quid pacem excusserit orbi* returns us from the second of

the golden-age motifs (61 *pax missa per orbem*) to its antithesis, the historical fact of the civil war.

70–2 In answer to the indirect questions posed at 68 f., the poet offers three reasons that are carefully arranged in an ascending tricolon and capped by a fourth clause that restates their implications: Rome could not sustain her own greatness. Petronius' poetaster Eumolpus offers a scene in response at 120.1.82–5 in which a similar preoccupation with physical mass features amid the causes of the war (cf. Connors (1998) 114–17). The god Dis inquires of Fortuna the reasons for her change of heart towards Rome:

ecquid Romano sentis te pondere victam,
nec posse ulterius perituram extollere molem?
ipsa suas vires odit Romana iuventus
et quas struxit opes.

After Lucan, Statius adapts details at *Silv.* 2.7.89 f. *o saevae nimium grauesque Parcae! | o numquam data longa fata summis!*

70 **inuida series fatorum**: for the phrase: Cic. *Ac.* 1.29 (Haskins), *Div.* 1.125; Ov. *Met.* 15.152 (Getty); for *fatum* and *fortuna* in *BC*: see *Intro.* §5.

negatum: the substantival use of the neuter participle: cf. 5 *certatum*.

71 **nimioque graues sub pondere lapsus**: cf. Sen. *Ag.* 87–9 *licet arma uacent cessentque doli, | sidunt ipso pondere magna | ceditque oneri fortuna suo* (Getty). The notion finds amplification at the beginning of the same ode at 57–63:

o regnorum magnis fallax
Fortuna bonis, in praecipiti
dubioque locas nimis excelsos.
numquam placidam sceptris quietem
certumue sui tenuere diem:
alia ex aliis cura fatigat
uexatque animos noua tempestas.

The image of *nimio sub pondere lapsus* also returns to the theme of architectural ruination articulated at 24–7. There the aspect emphasized was the devastation after the fall, here it announces a text that will treat the actual event. At 2.187–90, similar imagery and

language will present the mutilated body of M. Marius Gratidianus as a symbol of the cruelty of the proscriptions (cf. Luc. 2.173–93 with Fantham ad loc.):

sic mole ruinae
fracta sub ingenti miscentur pondere membra,
nec magis informes ueniunt ad litora trunci
qui medio periere freto.

72 **nec se Roma ferens**: a theme from early Augustan literature: Liv. pr. 4 *iam pridem praeualentis populi uires se ipsae conficiunt*; Hor. *Epod.* 16.1f. *altera iam teritur bellis ciuilibus aetas, | suis et ipsa Roma uiribus ruit* (Getty); add Man. 1.912 *imperiumque suis confligit uiribus ipsum*.

72–80 The simile of the final conflagration (see introd. to 67–97).

72 **conpage**: ‘the structure or framework (of the earth, the universe, etc)’ (*OLD* 3c). Getty’s interpretation of an ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *conpage* and *hora* both defined by the genitive *mundi* is unnecessary. *conpages* used of the universe reflects the Stoic conception (and vocabulary) of cosmic cohesion (Man. 2.803; *TLL* 3.199.41–50; Lapidge (1979) 360 f.). Through its more literal definitions (cf. *OLD* 1a, b; 2a), *conpage soluta* also echoes the imagery of architectural ruination that pervades the poem. For the phrase: Pers. 3.58; Stat. *Theb.* 8.31 (Getty); add Sil. 17.606 f.; Tac. *Hist.* 3.27; Apul. *Mun.* 32; cf. also the cognate expression *conpage rupta* at Sen. *Nat.* 6.32; *Oed.* 580; Sen. *Her. O.* 1135 f., 1228; Stat. *Theb.* 8.144; Sil. 17.277.

soluta: translates Greek terminology employed in Stoic discourse regarding the conflagration. *soluo* here equates to ἀναλύω, used by Chrysippus in this specific context of ἐκπύρωσις (*SVF* 2.596–632; cf. Man. 1.247–54; Sen. *Ben.* 6.22.1; Lapidge (1979) 347, 354 f., 357, 360 f.). The notion of dissolution derives ultimately from the Stoic image of the universe’s structure as being ‘woven’ together: cf. Chrysippus’ image of the συμπλοκή of fate (*SVF* 2.976; Lapidge (1979) 349).

73 **saecula tot**: at the outset of the simile the context is reinforced by its interaction with one of Seneca’s meditations upon the final conflagration of the world. At *Dial.* 6.26.5 the phrase is also used of

the cosmic cycle: for the dead Cordus, *tot saecula, tot aetatium contextum, seriem, quicquid annorum est, licet uisere*.

mundi suprema...hora: this final hour that heralds the conflagration occurs when the planets return to the same positions that they had originally occupied when the world came into being (SVF 2.625; Long and Sedley (1987) 311).

suprema...hora: to Tib. 1.1.59 (Getty); add Sen. *Ep.* 102.24 *proinde intrepidus horam illam decretoriam prospice: non est animo suprema, sed corpori*; cf. also Mart. 10.5.10.

74 antiquum repetens iterum chaos: cf. PGM χάος ἀρχέγονον. Ov. *Met.* 2.299 was noted by Getty, but not the cumulative force of the intertextual reference. The narrator invokes the climax of Earth's own appeal to Jupiter to help stop the destruction being caused by Phaethon as he loses control of the sun's chariot: Ov. *Met.* 2.298 f. *si freta, si terrae pereunt, si regia caeli, | in chaos antiquum confundimur!* Hinds has argued that this allusion to Phaethon's disastrous commandeering of his father's chariot—so universally cataclysmic in its potential (as we infer from Lucan's primary context of the conflagration) and so close to resulting in the utter destruction of the earth, the oceans, and heaven itself but for the intercession of a higher power (as we import from Ovid's context)—follows closely enough upon the narrator's suggestion at 47–50 that Nero will usurp the chariot of the sun himself to intimate this same potential for destruction and havoc in the case of the emperor. The Ovidian context prompts Tarrant (2002) 358 to read the line metapoetically, that is, referring to not just primeval chaos, but the specific description of chaos that Ovid provides in book one of the *Metamorphoses*: that is in effect, a return to the beginning of the Ovidian text announced by Lucan at 67 (cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.7 chaos). See Hinds (1987) 29; Phillips (1962) 143; Esposito (1987) 50 f.; Tarrant (2002) 356–8; Wheeler (2002) 370; Dewar (1994) 211 expresses reservation.

The phrase may also import nuances from Stoic terminology regarding the conflagration. Apparently the phrase *πρώτιστα χάος* (Hes. *Theog.* 116) had been explained by Zeno as alluding to the moisture that would extinguish the conflagration and allow the universe's regeneration (SVF 1.103; cf. 2.605) while, for Cornutus,

χάος could signify the fire into which the universe would dissolve during the conflagration (*Theol. Graec.* 17): Lapidge (1979) 362 f.

repetens iterum: a common pleonasm (cf. 391 *rursus redeuntis*, 5.207, 7.719, 8.105: Löfstedt (1933) 178), but in this sense looking back specifically to the chaos at Ov. *Met.* 2.299 (74 n.).

74–5 omnia mixtis | ... | sidera sideribus concurrent: these lines are problematic, and Bentley, Housman, Fraenkel (1926) 507, and Semple (1937) 18 f. all excised them from the text. Getty's arguments for the retention of these lines with no lacuna and new punctuation—

antiquum repetens iterum chaos, omnia mixtis
sidera sideribus concurrent ignea, pontum
astra petent...

—were fivefold: (i) *sidera sideribus concurrent* finds precedent in Sen. *Dial.* 6.26.6 and *Ben.* 6.22; (ii) *mixtis sideribus* finds a precedent in Man. 4.386, 415 f.; (iii) *omnia sidera* is found at Sen. *Nat.* 3.29.1; (iv) the displacement of the comma from *concurrent* to *ignea* on metrical grounds (that Lucan never has a break in sense after the fourth foot unless that foot is a dactyl) does not present insurmountable stylistic objections in having *sidera* qualified by two adjectives (*ignea* and *omnia*); and finally (v), Housman's objection to the association of *mixtis* and *concurrent* is refuted by Luc. 2.291 *terra labet mixto coeuntis pondere mundi*.

But in presenting these five points as the basis for his retention of the passage, Getty sidestepped the main objections of previous editors to their place within the text. No one doubted that the expressions within the clause could be found in earlier literature. Semple (1937) 18 has shown how little support Manilius provides for the meaning of the passage, since in both cases cited by Getty he is referring to the astrological effect of the stars, not the physical stars themselves. Housman himself openly acknowledged the precedents for *sidera sideribus concurrent*: all the genealogy of the phrase suggested to him was a likely source for the interpolation of these lines. Indeed, the main objection on Housman's part was not to the association of *mixtis* and *concurrent* (as Getty stated) but to the incorporation of the words *omnia mixtis* on line 74 into a single clause with *sidera sideribus concurrent*:

optime dictum *sidera sideribus concurrent*... absurdum reddunt praemissa *omnia* et *mixtis*; nulla enim omnibus sideribus mixta esse possunt sidera, quibus illa concurrant. deinde mire et peruerse res pontum petiturae, cum sint eadem illa concurrentia sidera, tamen, proinde quasi diuersae sint, nouo nomine *ignea astra* appellantur.

However, the deletion of the clause *omnia*... *concurrent* presupposes that five metrically suitable words have been inserted into our text between the words *chaos* and *ignea* from another source, presumably Seneca. This may be less likely than the supposition (Pohlenz (1965) 140 n. 4) that a line has simply dropped out of our text after 74 on account of an error of transmission (Lapidge (1979) 360 n. 72; Lapidge (1989) 1408 n. 87); this has happened elsewhere in the text as we have it (between 2.703 and 704: Housman; Fantham on 2.703).

75–6 ignea...astra: despite the fairly common collocation *igneum sidus*, *ignea astra* appears only at Verg. A. 4.352 (where the stars are rising), here (where they fall into the sea), and at V. Fl. 3.210 f. (where they do not fall) *neque enim ignea cedunt | astra loco*.

76–9 The imagery of the earth casting off the ocean, of the orbits of the sun and moon, and of the breakdown of cosmic order represented in the planets' refusal to follow their ordained sequence anticipates the poet's inversion of these same images when they are employed at 89–91 to illustrate the timeless nature of tyranny's greed.

76 tellus extendere litora nolet: again engages with Ovid's account of primeval chaos at *Met.* 1.13 f. *nec bracchia longo | margine terrarum porrexerat Amphitrite*. Here, as often, *BC* reverses the trajectory of its epic predecessors: in the case of Ovid this is most apparent in *BC*'s regression from order back to chaos (Tarrant (2002) 358).

litora: nearly always in this *sedes* (96/106x), but cf. 368.

77 excutietque fretum: the noun is strictly 'straits', but is commonly widened in application, especially in verse, to mean 'the sea' (*TLL* 6.1314.66–1315.26). Getty's contention that *fretum* is nominative and that the meaning of this and the preceding clause is 'the land will refuse to stretch out its coastline (i.e. will no longer have a demarcated coastline), the restraint of which the sea will throw off' is insupportable. He has erroneously imported an element of

inundation into the ἐκπύρωσις. The tradition of a destructive flood had certainly enjoyed a long tradition in Greek thought. It originated with the myth of Deucalion and found expression in Plato's *Timaeus* (22d–e), which accounts for early Stoic familiarity with the tradition (cf. Furley (1999) 437). But a decisive and exclusive choice was made by the Stoics in favour of a universal conflagration because of the regenerative potential offered by fire but absent in water (see SVF 2.1027: Aetius on the πῦρ τεχνικόν; Diog. Laert. 7.135 f.; Stob. 1.213.15–21; SVF 1.98; Sandbach (1975) 79; Manning (1981) 151; Furley (1999) 438, 440 f.; Long and Sedley (1987) 278 f.). The meaning is 'and will shake off the water' (Hardie (1890) 13; cf. Lejay: 'la terre secouera la mer, comme un vêtement dont on se débarrasse'). Getty's appeal to Sen. *Nat.* 3.27 f. offers no support, since there the subject is a deluge that will overrun *magna pars terrarum*, not the end of a cosmic cycle in the Stoic sense; cf. Sen. *Dial.* 26.6 with Manning (1981) ad loc. for the distinction.

Hudson-Williams (1952) 68 f. suggested emending *excutiet* to *excipiet* (i.e. the land 'will admit the sea'). But *excipiet* finds no support in any manuscript and imports elements of inundation into conflagration. It was rejected by Mackay (1953) 145 on the grounds that the emendation gives too passive a climax to the series of images within the simile.

78 obliquum...per orbem: cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.130–2 *sectus in obliquum est lato curuamine limes, | zonarumque trium contentus fine polumque | effugit australem iunctamque aquilonibus arcton* (Getty).

bigas agitare: to Sen. *Phaed.* 312 f. (Getty) add Sen. *Ag.* 814–18:

...Iuppiter...
iussitque Phoebum
tardius celeres agitare currus
et tuas lente remeare bigas,
candida Phoebe.

In all three instances, the phrase is used within the context of a perversion of the normal pattern: either an exchange between the sun and the moon of their duties (here; *Phaed.* 312) or a manipulation of the length of the sun's orbit (*Ag.* 816 f.).

79 totaque: marks the end of the enumeration of details, as at 2.642, 5.266, 8.43–5, 8.99, 8.120–3, 8.734, 8.830 (Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.734).

80 machina...mundi: is not as commonplace as Getty suggested. After Lucr. 5.94–6 (also the context of the universe's destruction) *tris species tam dissimilis, tria talia texta, | una dies dabit exitio, multosque per annos | sustentata ruet moles et machina mundi*, Lucan's Stoic reappropriation here of Lucretius' Epicurean phrase is its next and final appearance in literature. In the intervening period, we find only two examples of *machina* in this sense (OLD 6), both times without a defining genitive (Man. 2.68, 807 *dissociata fluat resoluta machina mundo*). For *machina* used in this sense absolutely: *Aetna* 230; with *caeli*: Stat. *Theb.* 7.812, 8.310; *Silv.* 3.1.181; *TLL* 8.13.74–14.11 provides later examples.

foedera: again carrying nuances of Stoic technical terminology. *foedus* in Manilius (e.g. at 2.62, 3.55; cf. the cognate usage in Lucr. 1.586, 2.302, 2.254, 3.310) is often used in self-conscious imitation of the Greek δεσμός (Jaeger (1914) 108; Lapidge (1979) 356), employed by Chrysippus to describe the bond that ensured the ordered cohesion of the universe (SVF 2.719): 'not...an observed uniformity in nature, but rather of the limits which nature imposes on the growth, life, powers etc. of things', Bailey (1947) on Lucr. 1.586. *foedus* appears again in this sense at 2.2.

turbabit foedera: Lucan invokes the end of the *Aeneid*, in which Turnus recognizes the havoc his sister has wrought upon the recently struck treaty between the Trojans and the native Italian forces at Juno's behest. In both cases, therefore, there is a clear civil war context for the phrase that underscores the dissolution of an established order: Verg. *A.* 12.632 f. *o soror, et dudum agnoui, cum prima per artem | foedera turbasti teque haec in bella dedisti*; cf. *Ilias* 346 f. Lucan typically expands the scale of events from political to universal.

81 in se magna ruunt: to Sen. *Dial.* 10.4.1; *Phaed.* 480 (Getty); add Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.25 f. *quem uocet diuum populus ruentis | imperi rebus?*; Sen. *Phoen.* 550. For *sententiae* in BC, see 32 n. Given the nature of the oak tree to which Pompey is compared at 136–43, we ought to see a pun here on his name (cf. 34 n.). Four words are often enough in the terse idiom of Lucan's *sententiae*: cf. 97 *exiguum dominos commi-*

sit asylum; 281 *semper nocuit differre paratis*; 3.58 *nescit plebes ieiuna timere*; 4.487 *cupias quodcumque necesse est*; 4.702 *audendo magnus tegitur timor*; 5.290 *facinus quos inquinat aequat*; 5.292 *quidquid gerimus fortuna uocatur*; 5.343 *humanum paucis uiuit genus*; 5.746 f. *properante ruina | summa cadunt*; 7.727 *felix se nescit amari*; 8.85 *quod defles, illud amasti*; this compression can also result in three-word *sententiae*, as at 2.15 *liceat sperare timenti*; 4.253 *iuuat esse nocentes*; 6.532 *fugere cadauera letum*; 7.78 *pudeat uicisse coactum*; 9.403 *gaudet patientia duris*. This striving after brevity—whose literary genealogy may be traced through the younger Seneca and Sallust—is utterly in keeping with the aesthetics of declamatory rhetoric (cf. Sen. *Contr.* 1.1.25): see Bonner (1966) 268.

81–2 laetis hunc numina rebus | crescendi posuere modum: the general principle is outlined at Sen. *Con.* 1 *pr.* 7 *in deterius deinde cotidie data res est, siue luxu temporum—nihil enim tam mortiferum ingeniis quam luxuria est—siue, cum pretium pulcherrimae rei cecidisset, translatus est omne certamen ad turpia multo honore quaestusque uigentia, siue fato quodam, cuius maligna perpetuaque in rebus omnibus lex est ut ad summum perducta rursus ad infimum, uelocius quidem quam ascenderant, relabantur*: Narducci (2004) 7 f.; cf. Bailey (1947) on Lucr. 1.586 on the *foedera naturai*.

81 laetis rebus: not Ovidian in the sense ‘prosperity’ (Getty): Vergil offers an earlier and more relevant usage of the phrase in this sense: at A. 2.783, Creusa informs her husband *illic [in Italy] res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx | parta tibi* (cf. Austin (1964) ad loc.). Here Lucan once again bookends the ostensible optimism of the Augustan epic, by looking back upon the hoped-for future of the *Aeneid* as its own longed-for past, and by singing of the period after *numina* have put a limit to Italy’s former prosperity.

numina: in Lucan, essentially interchangeable with *fatum*, *fortuna*, god, and nature as causative principles in the universe: a notion completely consistent with Stoic thinking (cf. Diog. Laert. 7.135 f.; 33, 70 nn.).

82 crescendi posuere modum: again at 10.331.

82–4 nec gentibus ullis | commodat in populum...potentem | inuidiam Fortuna suam: ‘and not to any foreign nation does Fortune furnish her grudge against a powerful people’. The theme of causative

agents preserving the Romans themselves as agents of their *invidia* against them is taken up again at 2.85–8 [*Marius*, preserved not by the favour of the gods but] *ingenti superum protectus ab ira, | uir ferus et Romam cupienti perdere fato | sufficiens*.

82 nec gentibus ullis: the sequence is repeated verbatim at 93, which helps create the insistent and impassioned feeling which permeates the opening of the catalogue of causes. Here, as often in Lucan (31, 93, 626; 5.249), *ullus* | *nullus* means ‘any other | no other’.

83 populum... potentem: 2 n.

terrae pelagique potentem: variations are at Verg. *A.* 3.528 *di maris et terrae tempestatumque potentes*; Hor. *Saec.* 53 *iam mari terraque manus potentis* (Getty).

terrae pelagique: a less frequent formula than the well-established *terra marique*. It appears at 13, here, 4.357, and 9.304, and nowhere in epic before Lucan; cf. Ov. *Ep.* 4.5; *Trist.* 3.2.7; Man. 1.249, 5.418; Sen. *Med.* 637. After BC: Stat. *Ach.* 1.37; Sil. 4.53 with elaboration at 6.503 and 12.157.

84–6 The narrator now turns in apostrophe to the city for the second time since the beginning of the poem (21–3).

84 causa malorum: i.e. ἀρχεκάκος, as at *Il.* 5.63 (Pease (1935) on Verg. *A.* 4.169). Getty was correct in citing Verg. *A.* 11.361 as a source, but he did not cite *A.* 4.169 f., 7.481 f. and 12.600; nor did he note the cumulative effect of the Vergilian contexts. At *A.* 4.169 f. the day on which Dido and Aeneas consummate their affection and on which commences the affair that will bring about her suicide is rendered by the narrator *ille dies primus leti primusque malorum | causa fuit*. At *A.* 7.481 f. the narrator marks out the hunting of Silvia’s deer by Ascanius as *quae prima laborum | causa fuit belloque animos accendit agrestis*. At *A.* 11.361, Drances upbraids Turnus for endangering the lives of his own citizens with the words *quid miseros totiens in aperta pericula ciuis | proicis, o Latio caput horum et causa malorum?* At 12.600, Amata accuses herself of being *causam... crimenque caputque malorum* before she commits suicide. Clear nuances of suicide, the irruption of war, and of self-interest over state safety prevail in the intertext. The phrase is deployed for the second and final time in Lucan at 7.407 f. *Pharsalia tanti | causa mali*. In this last

instance it returns the reader to the catastrophic consequences of Pharsalus: the narrator declares that Rome is subjected to such deplorable depths of degeneration that civil war is no longer even possible. After Lucan, Aetetes redeploys the phrase of Phrixus at V. Fl. 7.37 f. *tu prima malorum | causa mihi, tu, Phrixe gener!*

85 *facta... communis Roma*: this and the following line reverses the paradigm of ownership and state service established at Lucr. 5.1154 f. *nec facilest placidam ac pacatam degere uitam | qui uiolat factis communia foedera pacis* (cf. Bailey (1947) ad loc. ‘the pacts which were foreshadowed by primitive man and are now embodied in the *iura et leges* of the constitutional state’). The Lucretian context advertises a world in which man stays within the parameters of the law through fear of punishment (cf. Bailey (1947) iii. 1503 f.). From its outset, *BC* declares that this scenario has given way to men who have risen beyond the limits of legal power (2, 175 f., 2.565: Pompey on Caesar) and, especially in the case of Caesar, advocate their own ability to create legality out of crime (203; 279: Curio underscores Caesar’s potential in this regard) cf. 2 n. *iusque datum sceleri*.

tribus dominis: the first mention of the triumvirate: here and in the surrounding lines (84–91) Lucan seems to echo and parody the divine partition of the world into three spheres articulated by Poseidon at Hom. *Il.* 15.185–9.

86 *in turbam missi*: Getty’s interpretation ‘never before let loose against the populace’ is untenable (as e.g. *Comm. Bern.*, *ASL*, Haskins, Marlowe (‘shiver’d out to three men’s shares’), Gagliardi, and Martindale (1976) 53 n. 6 all realized): it is ‘shared among a crowd’. The sense of *missi* is ‘to put (into a specific state or condition), subject (to)’ (*OLD* 19a). *TLL* 8.1171.21–6 cites Ov. *Rem.* 302 and claims a legal context for this usage. Martindale (1976) 46 notes a characteristic touch, ‘even three men constitute a crowd when power is being shared’.

feralia foedera: *feralis* is a favourite adjective of Lucan (19x), and its use in qualifying such nouns as the fields of Pharsalus (7.788) and the name of Cannae (7.408) sets its tone.

87–9 The narrator now turns from the city made common property to the triumvirs who shared her between them.

87 o male concordēs: Getty's contention that *male* goes with both *concordēs* and with *caeci* by amphibole should be rejected. *male* modifying *concorēs* and meaning *non* is perfectly understandable (*TLL* 8.243.18–60; Austin (1955) on Verg. *A.* 4.8); *male caeci* neither gives 'unfortunately [blind]' nor is anywhere else attested (248 n.). The text seems once again to draw upon clear civil war themes from earlier poetry, since the only earlier occurrence of the formula *o male* is found used in this context at *Dirae* 79–86:

cum delapsa meos agros peruenerit unda,
piscetur nostris in finibus aduena arator,
aduena, ciuili qui semper crimine creuit.
o male deuoti, praetorum crimina, agelli,
tuque inimica tui semper Discordia ciuis,
exsul ego indemnatus egens mea rura reliqui,
miles ut accipiat funesti praemia belli?

The sequence is repeated in the opening sentiment of the silent lamentation of the people of Ariminum at 248 *o male uicinis haec moenia condita Gallis | o tristi damnata loco!*

cupidine caeci: to Lucr. 4.1153; Sall. *Iug.* 25.8; 37.4 (Getty), add Lucr. 3.59; Man. 4.2. If the lines are genuine, the collocation is reused at 7.747.

nimiaque cupidine: Nisus tries to curb the uncontrolled rage of Euryalus at Verg. *A.* 9.354 *sensit enim nimia caede atque cupidine ferri*. The combination is found in these two locations only in epic; in prose, it appears before Lucan at Sen. *Dial.* 9.9.7; after, at Tac. *Ann.* 2.63.

88 quid: 'why?' (*OLD quis* 16); the use originates in colloquial discourse (Austin (1977) on Verg. *A.* 6.389).

miscere iuuat uires: *miscere* is 'to combine' (*OLD* 3c). To Man. 4.414 f. (Getty) add Plin. *Nat.* 22.118; it occurs again in this sense at Tac. *Hist.* 1.9. The impersonal construction *miscere iuuat* is both late and confined to poetry: Sen. *Ag.* 664; again at Luc. 7.655; after at Mart. 1.18.1, 4.75.3.

89–92 A very carefully constructed passage that builds in four clauses of increasing length which themselves expand from

terrestrial to celestial images of permanence and climax in compounded *sententiae*.

89–90 dum terra fretum terramque leuabit | aer: polyptoton and chiasmus initiate the sequence of 89–92 (Wills (1996) 331 f.). *BC* offers a more compact expression of the same imagery than Sen. *Med.* 401–6. For the earth supported by air (also at 5.94): Arist. *Cael.* 2.13; Ov. *Met.* 1.12; Plin. *Nat.* 2.10 f.; Stat. *Theb.* 8.310 f. (Getty).

90 aer et longi uoluent Titana labores: the heavily spondaic line reinforces the monumentality of the sun's orbit around the earth (Gagliardi).

91 totidem per signa: that is, because there are an equal number of zodiacal signs above and below the horizon (six each): Arat. 553–6; *Aetna* 236; Vitruvius 9.1.4; Man. 3.241 f.; Sen. *Dial.* 8.5.4.

92–3 The sequence climaxes with the notion of power's solitary disposition and is made emphatic by repetition. In the Middle Ages, these lines were among the most popular of all the *sententiae* in *BC*, as evident in the high frequency with which they were quoted by Medieval Latin authors (Sanford (1934) 6 f.). The notion illustrated by the *sententia* finds immediate illustration in Rome's own history at 95 and 97.

92 nulla fides regni sociis: cf. Enn. *trag.* 320 J *nulla sancta societas nec fides regni est*; Cicero had earlier applied it to Caesar (*Off.* 1.8.26). Variations on the theme find frequent expression in Latin: Col. 9.9.2; Liv. 1.14.3, Phaed. 1.5.1, Sen. *Ag.* 259. Getty is no doubt correct in citing Hom. *Il.* 2.204 οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη as the origin of this notion, but the tragic evocations of the phrase—the sons of Oedipus, and the Tantalids—are to the fore. For *sententiae* in *BC*, see 32 n.

92–3 omnisque potestas | impatiens consortis erit: the abstract *potestas*, in the manner of κράτος, is used in a concrete sense, as at Verg. *A.* 10.18 (with Harrison (1991) ad loc.; *TLL* 9.2.318.24–77). *BC* will illustrate this *sententia* in Caesar at 124 whose *fortuna* is *impatiens loci secundi*.

93 gentibus: 'foreign nations' (*TLL* 6.2.1850.31–75).

94 nec longe fatorum exempla petantur: that precedents and explanations for Rome's suicidal behaviour are not far afield is also

illustrated at 2.67, where the parents of the civil war generation seek *exempla timori* in the proscriptions of Marius and Sulla.

95 fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri: the murder of Remus by Romulus. A golden line of the pattern abCAB gives closure to a passage. Variations upon *fraterno... sanguine* are as old as Accius (cf. e.g. *trag.* 23; *Enn. trag.* 144 J).

96 pretium... furoris: the collocation is from Sen. *Ag.* 869.

tellus pontusque: this is the only use of the combination in *BC*. It is employed here as a variant of 83 *terrae pelagique*. It is found prior to Lucan at *Ov. Met.* 8.98; after cf. *Stat. Theb.* 11.67, 469; *Sil.* 3.157.

97 exiguum... asylum: *BC* responds to the *Aeneid* again, 'correcting' the dimensions of Romulus' asylum as it exposes the fratricidal aspect of the myth that Vergil suppressed at *A.* 8.342 f. *hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer asylum | rettulit*. On the asylum: *RE* 2.1885.24–38; Ogilvie (1965) on *Liv.* 1.8.5.

dominos commisit: 'set them against each other' (*OLD committo* 6), as at Sen. *Dial.* 5.33.1; cf. *Hom. Il.* 1.8 ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι (Getty).

98–120 THE CAUSES OF THE WAR 2: THE DEATHS OF CRASSUS AND JULIA

Structure

This passage is carefully arranged into parallel sections (99–108; 111–20). The structure highlights the similarly unique positions of Crassus and Julia in respect to Caesar and Pompey. But crucial differences between the two are variously underscored, and these are in keeping with the presentation of Crassus and Julia throughout *BC*. Each character is accorded a similar length of narrative: Crassus, nine and a half lines (99–108); Julia, nine (111–20). Vocabulary helps articulate the structure of the passage: 99, 111 *nam*; 99, 115 *sola*; 100, 115 *mora*; 104, 119 *funus/mors*. Both Crassus and Julia are introduced by the causative particle *nam*, but the triumvir's life accounts for the

uneasy peace prevailing between Pompey and Caesar before the outbreak of the civil war (98 f. *temporis angusti mansit concordia discors* | *paxque fuit*), while Julia's death explains the outbreak of civil war itself (109 *diuiditur ferro regnum*). Both passages contain the importance of their role in maintaining the peace, whether actual (Crassus: 100–3) or potential (Julia: 114–18). Both feature a simile to illustrate this role. The comparison of Crassus with the Isthmus (100–3) is drawn from the natural world and thereby announces his membership of the triumvirate along with Magnus (the oak tree: 136–43) and Caesar (the lightning bolt: 151–7). The simile applied to Julia, that of the Sabine women, is much shorter, drawn from Rome's legendary past (118), and is consistent with her own self-avowed role in the poem (118 cf. 3.30 f.). Both character portraits conclude with an apostrophe. In Crassus' case, the narrator turns to the *Arsacidae*, the royal house of Parthia (107 f.), whereas Julia herself is addressed (114–20). Both portraits also end with a meditation of around two lines upon the consequences of their character's death. Structurally, these are both transitional sentences: the first sets up the transition from peace to war (109–11); the second helps shift the narrative focus from minor characters to the main protagonists (119 f.).

The credibility of Lucan's causes

Counting the deaths of Julia and Crassus as causative agents of the war is unsatisfactory from a historical perspective. Contemporary evidence unequivocally supports the continuing collegiality of Pompey and Caesar in the period 54–51. A brief review of this evidence (synthesized by Gruen, *LGRR* 449–70) will illustrate the point. In the first instance, Pompey remained Caesar's principal heir from the time he married Julia in 59 until the outbreak of civil war in 49 (Suet. *Iul.* 83.1). In 54, the dynasts worked together (unsuccessfully) to secure consulships for C. Memmius and M. Scaurus (Cic. *Att.* 4.15.7, 4.16.6; Suet. *Iul.* 73) and both men assisted in the protection of each other's *amici* (e.g. the Pompeian C. Messius and the Caesarian P. Vatinius: Cic. *Att.* 4.15.9, 8.11D.2; *Fam.* 1.9.19). In the same year, Caesar assisted Pompey in the trial of Gabinius (Cass. Dio 39.63.4)

and did not oppose the notion of the latter's dictatorship (Cic. Q. Fr. 3.8.4, 3.9.3). In the winter of 54–53 two Pompeian legions were sent to Caesar, who ascribed this action to both national interest and the ties of friendship (*et rei publicae et amicitiae*, Caes. Gal. 6.1). Caesar's offer in 53 to divorce Cornelia and to marry Pompey's daughter should be read as a generous act of reassurance; so too Pompey's refusal: their *amicitia* rendered it unnecessary and Pompey's new ties with the Metelli and the Claudii should be read as a move to strengthen the power base of both dynasts, not as a move towards the Catonian group, to whom these new relatives had no debt of obligation (Gruen, LGRR 453). In 53, the general perception was that both men were closely aligned, hence the proposal of a joint consulship (Suet. Iul. 26.1; Cass. Dio 40.50.3 f.). This public perception was vindicated by Caesar's praise of Pompey's sole consulship of 52 (Caes. Gal. 7.6). He had every reason to laud it: Pompey had secured his *ratio absentis* (Cic. Fam. 6.6.5, Att. 8.3.3) and, with the exception secured for Caesar, reinforced the rule with the *lex Pompeia de iure magistratuum*. As late as 51 there was still cohesion. Marcellus' attacks upon Caesar were offensive to both dynasts (Cic. Att. 5.11.2). Pompey first blocked and then secured the deferral of senatorial debate regarding Caesar's tenure of Gaul until March 50 (Cael. Fam. 8.8.9, 8.9.5; Cic. Att. 8.3.3). The general assumption, now as much as in 53, was of a deal struck between the two (Cael. Fam. 8.8.9). Clearly, the death of colleague, wife, and daughter exercised no degenerative effect upon the dynasts' arrangements.

98 temporis angusti: misrepresents the seven years from the pledging of *amicitia* between Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus in 59 to the latter's death at Carrhae in 53, and ignores altogether the four further years before the outbreak of the war: Cic. Att. 2.3.3; Flor. Epit. *si moram belli [inspicias], quattuor anni, sed pro clade rerum breue tempus* (Gruen, LGRR 88 f. n. 19 f. for these dates). However, the narrator has just established at 89–93 the perennial nature of power's solitude and at 93–7 that civil war had from the beginning been the natural inclination of the Roman state, and so the period dividing the agreement between the *potentes* and Crassus' death is compressed.

The use of the adjective *angustus* subtly foreshadows the simile of the isthmus through its etymological descent from *angustiae*, used of

the geographic formation: Plin. *Nat.* 4.9.6 *angustiae, unde procedit, Isthmos appellatur*; cf. *TLL* 2.59.72–83. *angustus* of time occurs again at 4.477 and in many of the most often cited sources of *BC*, Verg. *G.* 4.197; Ov. *Am.* 3.7.25; *Tr.* 5.10.8; Man. 3.258; Sen. *Con.* 2.3.7; Sen. *Nat.* 3 *pr.* 3; *TLL* 2.63.35–44.

concordia discors: the oxymoron appears first at Hor. *Ep.* 1.12.19, then Ov. *Met.* 1.433, and, reversed, at Man. 1.142 *discordia concors* (Getty). In all of these variants, the phrase is used to describe the cohesion of the universe. The use of this phrase here is consistent with the strategy of portraying political events in universal terms (cf. introd. to 67–97). That the *concordia* between the triumvirs was *discors* stemmed naturally from the ad hoc nature of their *amicitia*, from the short-term nature of their goals (both in 59 and in 56), and from the galvanizing effect the agreement exerted over groups opposed to each of the three (but especially to Pompey). Even in 59 Pompey was reportedly unhappy with Caesar's heavy-handed methods as consul (Cic. *Att.* 2.16.2; cf. 2.7.3, 21.3, 23.2). Further friction between the three was especially evident in 58, in Clodius' attacks upon Pompey, which were augmented both by the support of Caesar's consul Piso (Cic. *Pis.* 16, 27 f.; *Dom.* 66; Cass. Dio 38.30.2) and by the tribune's use of Crassus' name (Cic. *Q. Fr.* 2.3.2). In 57, following the manoeuvring between Crassus and Pompey for the task of restoring Ptolemy Auletes (Cic. *Q. Fr.* 2.3.2) and Pompey's belief that Crassus was sponsoring a plot against his life (Cic. *Q. Fr.* 2.3.4), the agreement seemed unstable enough for L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Cicero openly to attack Caesar (Cic. *Vat.* 16–18, 23, 35 f., 39; Plut. *Cat. Min.* 41.3; Suet. *Iul.* 24.1). On the cosmic nuances of the phrase: Leigh 72 n. 69.

99 non sponte ducum: it speaks to Lucan's technique of characterization that, of the triumvirs, only Pompey and Caesar are *duces*. *dux* is among the most frequently encountered nouns in *BC* (171x); in book one, it is used exclusively of Caesar (144, 186, 193, 265, 268, 272, 293, 341, 356), Pompey (130, 311), or of them collectively (here, 104, 120, 158); afterwards it is deployed more liberally. Crassus is pointedly excluded from the status of a *dux* here and at 104. He has already been styled an *umbra* at 15, in this passage he is a *mora belli* at 100, and although later the epithet *uictor* is applied to him by Pompey at 2.553, it

is done so in an unfulfilled conditional clause. Despite his minor status in *BC*, it is pointed that Lucan nowhere applies a military epithet to him, given his early success as a general, his well-known aspirations in this sphere, and the circumstances of his death.

nam: the causal particle ascribes a peace-keeping role to Crassus, a notion that is out of step with his consistent animosity towards Pompey and that is evident in a number of his actions in the period 59–53, most notably his support of Clodius’ attacks on Pompey and his own attempts to thwart his direct involvement in Ptolemy Auletes’ restoration (98 n.).

99–106 The death of Crassus.

99–100 *sola* ... | ... *mora*: Crassus is the only delay to the approaching war, but at 115 f. Julia is the only (*sola*) person actually capable of stopping it altogether; again the passivity of Crassus is underscored by the parallel application of the adjective. *mora belli* is a fairly common expression in republican prose; in its application to human beings, cf. the *sententia* of Porcius Latro at Sen. *Suas.* 2.19 *si nihil aliud, erimus certe belli mora*. In verse it is found in Abronius Silo and at Verg. *A.* 10.427 f. (with Harrison (1991) ad loc.); after there at Sen. *Phoen.* 458; Ag. 211 (cf. *TLL* 8.1467.67–1468.4).

100–3 The simile of the Isthmus. Just as their respective similes are programmatic of the characterization of Pompey (136–43) and Caesar (151–7), so too is the passive, peace-keeping image of Crassus established in this simile. The idea of the Isthmus as a civil war metaphor is unique to Lucan. Silius draws upon the current passage to redeploy the Isthmus within a simile that compares the destruction of this natural boundary with the coming of Scipio to Africa in 210 BC at 15.154–7:

ut, cum saeua fretis immisit proelia, Corus
Isthmon curuata sublime superiacit unda
et spumante ruens per saxa gementia fluctu
Ionium Aegaeo miscet mare.

Brouwers (1982) 76 discusses the Silian context.

100 qualiter: the Augustan poets initiate the use of this metrically convenient adverb and anticipate its use in imperial verse and prose

(Coffey and Mayer (1990) on Sen. *Phaed.* 382). Lucan is the first poet to use it in epic (only here and 151). After BC: Stat. *Theb.* 1.193, 8.460, 9.401, 10.537; *Ach.* 1.332, 372; V. Fl. 1.690, 2.458, 3.359, 4.195, 5.304, 6.390. In hexameter it is only ever used as the whole first or whole fifth foot.

undas: poetic, frequent (147x), and usually in this *sedes* (116x).

101 secāt et... separat: hendiadys, a variation on the normal verbs associated with the Isthmus: Ov. *Ep.* 8.69, 12.104 *distinere*; Prop. 3.21.22 *arcere*; Sen. *Her. F.* 336 *findere*; *Phoen.* 375 *scindere*; *Thy.* 113 *diuidere*.

geminum... mare: used in the context of the Isthmus at Ov. *Ep.* 12.104 (and therefore not UV *male*; for further objections: Fordyce (1940) 98), but Ovid much preferred the epithet *bimaris Isthmos* (drawn from Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.2; *Tr.* 1.11.5; *Met.* 6.419, 420, 7.405) to convey the same idea; cf. Sen. *Med.* 35 *geminio Corinthos litori opponens moras*.

gracilis... Isthmos: cf. Sen. *Thy.* 113 *Isthmos... | uicina gracili diuidens terra uada*. Again, a variant on the defining characteristic of the Isthmus: Ov. *Ep.* 8.69 *porrectus longe*; Plin. *Nat.* 4.9.6, 48.1 *angustiae*; Sen. *Her. F.* 336 *exilis*.

102 conferre: i.e. *se iungere* (TLL 4.175.8–16).

103 Ionium Aegaeo: out of the next four lines, three commence with the juxtaposing of opposing geographical adjectives: here; 105 *Assyrias Latio*; 106 *Parthica Romanos*. In each case, these geographical antitheses represent the national or ideological opposition of two generals: at 103, Caesar and Pompey; at 105 f., Crassus and the Parthian general Suren, subordinate to king Orodes II. For variations on this device: 2.137, 3.93, 3.463, 3.463, 3.583, 3.610, 7.473, 8.596, 10.343; it is a textual strategy as old as Aesch. Ag. 320 *Τροίαν Ἀχαιοὶ* (Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.596 with references).

frangat: ‘allow to be smashed’ (Housman): a very common idiom, again at 3.485, 8.74 (Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.74 with references).

sic, ubi saeua: where Lucan terminates a line with two bisyllabic words, they are always preceded by a monosyllable, as here, 202, 290, and 417.

103–4 saeua | arma: cf. 4.578. An epic collocation: Verg. *A.* 1.294–5 *Furor impius intus | saeua sedens super arma* (in a civil war context),

8.482, 9.651, 12.890; Corn. Sev. at Sen. *Suas.* 6.26.16. It deviates from epic at Ov. *Am.* 2.12.24; *Rem.* 246; *Tr.* 1.5.73; *Pont.* 1.1.26, 1.8.26; *Ib.* 140; Sen. *Phaed.* 533. After Lucan: Stat. *Theb.* 7.554, 8.179; Sil. 4.253, 10.310, 11.231, 12.716.

dirimens: the present participle has imperfect force. Lucan reinforces the connection between Crassus' role as peacemaker and the simile of the Isthmus by applying a verb to the man that was synonymous with those verbs associated with the land formation (101 n.). *dirimo* is frequently of topography (*OLD* 6) and had been used of the Isthmus at Liv. 45.28.2; on the 'trespassing' of the verb from the simile see Lyne (1989) 92–9.

105–6 The death of Crassus and its consequences are revealed in twin golden lines.

105 *Assyrias...Carrhas*: the adjective is used in its broader application, 'extended to surrounding countries [around Assyria], Asiatic, oriental' (*OLD* b). Its application here is strictly redundant, but it imparts an exotic flavour to the city name as at 10.9 *Paraetionius*, of Alexandria. For the noun and adjective enclosing the line see Pearce (1966) 140–71, 298–320.

Latio...sanguine: a slight variation on the usual *Latinus sanguis*, used of the notion 'the slaughter of Romans': Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.29, *Epod.* 7.4; after Lucan: Sil. 6.603. Ov. *Tr.* 2.205 has *Latius...sanguis* to refer to 'Latin stock'.

maculauit sanguine: the notion of pollution is to the fore; in addition to Catul. 63.7 (Getty), cf. Verg. *A.* 3.29; Liv. 38.21.10; Prop. 4.10.43; Ov. *Met.* 1.719, 7.315, 15.107; V. Max. 2.4.1. It is used more often by Lucan than either Getty or WB would suggest: in addition to 4.181 (noted by both), the phrase occurs again at 6.365 and adapted at 8.286 [of Juba] *obliquo maculat qui sanguine regnum*, 'who stains the kingdom with his indirect descent'.

106 *Parthica...damna*: 'the losses inflicted by Parthia', cf. 2.475 *Gallica damna*, 7.787 *Pharsalica damna* (Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.25). The substantive is also used of the destruction of Crassus' forces at Carrhae at Vell. 2.119.1. For this use of *damnum* (properly, legal terminology): *TLL* 5.26.23–45. *BC* features the synonyms *clades* (53x) and *caedes* (39x) much more often than *damnum* (9x), which is

in any case relatively frequent usage for such a rare word in poetry (not in Catul., Lucr., Verg., Tib.; but 75x in Ovid).

Romanos...furores: periphrasis for 'civil war'; the collocation is repeated at 3.249; cf. 10.62 *Hesperios...furores*. *furores* always occupies this *sedes*.

107–8 The narrator addresses the Parthian royal house in order to explain the impact of Crassus' death amid the heightened emotional conditions of an apostrophe and to initiate the transition from the role of Crassus in the triumvirate to the effects of his removal.

107 **acie:** 'a battle, fighting' (OLD 7a); cf. TLL 1.409.41–81.

actum est: lines ending in *est* with elision or prodelision form the vast majority of BC's 90 examples of lines ending in one-syllable words (elsewhere in book one: 340, 372, 682). Exceptions to this rule are rare enough to name: *est* without elision or prodelision ends lines 2.81, 4.229, 4.685, 5.34, 6.437, 7.456, 8.452, 8.659; *es* ends line 9.508; *se* or *te* ends lines 4.587, 6.739, 9.854, 10.486; the most remarkable single-syllable termination of the epic is 9.723 *tabificus seps* (following the small animal rule of Lucilius: Serv. A. 8.83, Hollis (1970) on Ov. *Met.* 8.359): see Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.9–10 with references.

108 **Arsacidae:** BC is the first surviving Latin text to name the dynasty that ruled in Parthia from c.250 BC to AD 224 (cf. Serv. A. 6.760, 12.529; RE 2.1268.59–1270.27); the Arsacid ruling when Crassus was killed was Orodes II (58/7–38). After Lucan, the only other poetic mention of the royal house by name is at Sil. 8.467; its use is predictably common in Tacitus (*Hist.* 1x; *Ann.* 16x).

bellum uictis ciuile dedistis: paradox articulates the significance of Crassus' defeat. This is a fine illustration of the way in which many of Lucan's paradoxes are not merely linguistic pyrotechnics born of the declamation schools, but speak to the underlying paradoxical nature of his subject matter: Martindale (1976) esp. 46 f.

109 **diuiditur ferro regnum:** it is hard to see why Gagliardi objected to Sen. *Nat.* 1 pr. 8 *hoc est illud punctum quod inter tot gentes ferro et igne diuiditur?* (WB and Getty), given the context of the futility of battle from which the reference is drawn. The only other thing that *diuiditur ferro* in Latin epic is the skull of the unfortunate

Pandarus, at the hands of a raging Turnus (with whom Caesar shares much of his demonic force) at Verg. *A.* 9.749–51 *et sublatum alte consurgit in ensem | et mediam ferro gemina inter tempora frontem | diuidit impubisque immani uulnere malas.*

109–11 populi que potentis, | quae mare, quae terras, quae totum possidet orbem, | non cepit fortuna duos: cf. Flor. *Epit.* 2.13 *sic de principatu laborabant, tamquam duos tanti imperii fortuna non caperet.*

populi que potentis . . . fortuna: for *populus potens*, see 2 n. For the notion of *populi potentis fortuna*, Getty and WB cite Ov. *Fast.* 5.729 in reference to the founding of a temple of Public Fortune; cf. Frazer (1929) ad loc.

110–11 quae mare, quae terras, quae totum possidet orbem | non cepit fortuna duos: the paradox is brought out by the highly rhetorical introduction of tricolon crescendo and anaphora, adapted from Lucr. 1.278. For *non cepit fortuna duos*, cf. Verg. *A.* 9.644; Sen. *Thy.* 444 (Getty, WB); only Getty (drawing upon Lejay) cites the reported words of Philip II to his son: Plut. *Alex.* 6 *Μακεδονία γάρ σε οὐ χωρεῖ*. The theme was prominent within the declamation schools, and spread from there into the literature of the early imperial period. The declaimer Cestius Pius had said of Alexander at Sen. *Suas.* 1.5 *orbis illum non capit*; Seneca adopted the theme for contexts of civil strife in the *Thyestes* and of overarching power at *Her. F.* 960 (Tarrant (1985) 154; Fitch (1987) 368). After Lucan, the motif continues at Juv. 10.148 [Hannibal] *hic est quem non capit Africa*; 10.168 [Alexander] *unus Pella eo iuueni non sufficit orbis*, an author who openly declares the influence of the schools on this topic: 10.166 f. *i, demens, et saeuas curre per Alpes | ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias* (cf. Bonner (1966) 273 f.).

111–20 The death of Julia.

111 nam: the causal particle in the same position at 98 helps articulate the parallel status of Julia and Crassus as *morae belli*.

pignora: Haskins and Getty vacillate, but WB is correct in labelling the plural literal and not poetic: these *pignora* are the children (OLD 4a) she had conceived with Pompey. Neither survived infancy; the second died soon after its mother in 54 (Plut. *Pomp.*

53.4; V. Max. 4.6.4 refers to the earlier child); Haley (1985) 53–5 gives an overview of the relationship between Julia and Pompey. This interpretation is supported by the definition of *Parcae* at 113 n.

112 **diro...omine**: cf. 2.6 and 4.551. The collocation is often used in civil war contexts: Tib. 1.3.17, V. Max. 1.6.10; Stat. *Theb.* 2.264; Tac. *Hist.* 3.56.3. But it had also been applied within a marital context at Sen. *Con.* 10.4.8 and even to infant mortality at Sen. *Con.* 4.1.1; cf. also Vell. 2.46.3, where it characterizes the attendant circumstances of Crassus' departure for Parthia.

ferales...taedas: Lucan takes advantage of the long-standing motif of the ambiguity between funereal and connubial torches: see Eur. *Tro.* 343 f.; Verg. *A.* 7.71–6, 320–2 (whose *funestae...taedae* is adapted here); Ov. *Ep.* 16.49 f.; Sen. *Tro.* 40; Sil. 2.184, 13.547. *TLL* 6.1.486.43 f. 64–84 more accurately renders *ferales* as '*mortem portendens, mortifer, dirus*' (and invokes Julia's death in childbirth) than Getty's 'marriage which turned to mourning'.

113 **abstulit ad manes**: a sequence imported from Ov. *Met.* 5.73; *Tr.* 5.14.12 and continued at [Sen.] *Oct.* 342; Sil. 2.679; Stat. *Theb.* 11.283.

Parcarum: irony resides in the fact that Julia is snatched away by the cruel hand of those deities presiding over childbirth: Gel. 3.16.10; Macr. 1.19.17 (Shotter (1967) 195). Statius revisits the collocation at *Theb.* 1.706 *manus Parcarum*.

Julia: she was born c.76–73 BC to Caesar and Cornelia (Suet. *Iul.* 1.1, 6.1; Plut. *Caes.* 5.7; cf. Gelzer (1968) 21 n. 5 for the earlier date; Chilver and Seager, *OCD*³ 776 s.v. Julia (2) for the latter; both infer from her patrician status and her betrothal in 59). Julia was betrothed and married to Pompey in April 59 (despite her previous betrothal to Q. Servilius Caepio) as a public declaration of the agreement between her father and new husband (Cic. *Att.* 8.12.1; Suet. *Iul.* 21; Plut. *Caes.* 14.7, *Pomp.* 47.10, App. *B Civ.* 2.50; Cass. Dio 38.9.1; Plut. *Pomp.* 70.4 paints the marriage as a deceitful pledge of an alliance devoid of friendship). After July 58, the tribune Q. Terentius Culleo tried unsuccessfully to convince Pompey to divorce her (Cic. *Att.* 3.15.4 f., 3.18.1, 8.12.15; Plut. *Pomp.* 49 f.). She died in childbirth in 54 and was buried in the Campus Martius at the urging of the people. Caesar gave a public banquet and gladiatorial games in

her honour (Suet. *Iul.* 26.2, 84.1; Plut. *Caes.* 23.5–7; *Pomp.* 53.4; Cass. Dio 39.64; Liv. *per.* 106).

113–14 saeua | ... manu: the phrase originates with Ovid and is used by him to refer either to soldiers who are arming themselves in preparation for war as at *Am.* 1.13.14 or the infliction of divine punishment as at *Met.* 5.447. It is in the latter context that the phrase is repeatedly deployed by Seneca: *Her. F.* 88, the Eumenides; *Tro.* 46, [an exception] Pyrrhus; *Phaed.* 227, Theseus and 673, Jupiter; cf. Sen. *Her. O.* 429, 522, Hercules; [Sen.] *Oct.* 418, soldiers arming. Lucan uses the collocation here in its divine context and at 2.95 f. in its military context. After Lucan, the phrase is deployed by Statius of Jupiter at *Theb.* 10.888 and of immoderate behaviour at *Theb.* 6.318; *Silv.* 2.1.169; cf. also Mart. 10.50.2 of *Fauor's* infliction of an early death.

114 intercepta: Lucan is the first author to extend this sense of *intercipio*, ‘*interimendo, delendo*’ (TLL 7.2166.29–60), to human beings; thereafter its use is established in both prose and verse and is especially favoured by Tacitus. Ovid had previously established its use in this sense for inanimate objects at *Met.* 8.292.

114–20 The narrator turns in apostrophe to Julia herself.

114 quod si tibi fata dedissent: cf. Verg. *A.* 11.112, Prop. 2.1.17 (Getty, WB); add Verg. *A.* 3.337, 4.225 (‘standard phrasing’, Horsfall (2003) on Verg. *A.* 11.112). Both of the first two *comparanda* are civil war contexts; at Ov. *Met.* 10.163, also of relevance, the phrase is used in the context of premature death. Sen. *Her. O.* 211 draws upon the same tradition (for *quod si*: 33 n.).

115 in luce moras: the sense of *lux* is ‘the light of the sun (as enjoyed by all living creatures); hence, life’ (OLD 6a; cf. TLL 7.2.1910.6–31). *morae in luce* is from Helen’s death wish at Sen. *Tro.* 939. It is used here and at 2.525 in *BC*; after Lucan: V. Fl. 4.458, 6.733.

sola: (99 n.) like *nam* (111 cf. 99) and the notion of *mora* (here cf. 100) it establishes the parallel functions of Crassus and Julia as *morae belli*.

115–16 furentem | ... parentem: rhyming line terminations are not rare throughout the text; here it underscores the zeugma of the

epithet *furentem* with *uirum* and *parentem*. Heitland collected a few of his least favourite rhyming line endings from each book at xcvi. By his criteria, the following should be added from book one: 23–5 *hostis* | *tectis* | *muris*; 108 f. *dedistis* | *potentis*; 133 f. *theatri* | *priori*; 203 f. *hostem* | *amnem*; 225–7 *relinquo* | *sunto* | *bello*; 246 f. *artus* | *quaestus*; 389–91 *Ossae* | *pressae* | *siluae*; 544 f. *Mycenae* | *Aetnae*. On rhyme in classical poetry: Coleman (1999) 49–51.

116 *inde uirum poteras atque hinc retinere parentem*: note the chiasmus of object and verb. This line draws upon the account of the Sabine intervention at Liv. 1.13.2 *hinc patres hinc uiros orantes ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent* and anticipates the simile at 118.

117 *manus...iungere*: as Getty notes, this detail is drawn from the other of Lucan's principal sources for the Sabine myth, Ov. *Fast.* 3.226 *dant soceri generis accipiuntque manus*.

excusso...ferro: adapted from Sen. *Phoen.* 404, and re-employed at Stat. *Theb.* 7.552. As the consequences of Julia's potential intervention, this clause is picked up and mirrored at 119 *discussa fides*, describing the actual consequences of Julia's inability to execute her intervention.

118 *ut generos soceris mediae iunxere Sabinae*: the reconciliation of relatives provides the simile with its force; cf. Liv. 1.13.2; Ov. *Fast.* 3.217–28. The notion of standing *media* anticipates Julia's own definition of her role in the narrative: at 3.30 f. she tells Magnus '*ueniam te bella gerente | in medias acies*'. The ties of marriage between Pompey and Caesar inherent in the coupling *generos soceris* are consistent with their presentation throughout BC: they are grouped again at 290, 4.802, 7.71 f. and 10.417; *gener* is used 19x of Pompey, *socer* 28x of Caesar.

119–20 *morte tua... | permissum ducibus*: accords well with the viewpoint of ancient authors on the disastrous consequences of Julia's death (V. Max. 4.6.4; Sen. *Dial.* 6.14.3; Flor. 4.2.13; Plut. *Pomp.* 53; *Caes.* 23).

morte: BC privileges the more prosaic *mors* (129x) over the epic *letum* (38x).

120–57 THE CAUSES OF THE WAR 3: CAESAR AND POMPEY

The poet introduces the two main protagonists of the poem.

Introducing Pompey and Caesar

The introduction of Lucan's main protagonists is clearly organized. A proposition is announced at 130 *nec coiere pares*, and what follows may be read as the supporting evidence of this disparity (Lebek 65). Following this proposition is a general description of each man, and a simile with multiple points of correspondence to their behaviour (Lebek 65–71; Rosner-Siegel (1983) 167). These aspects are each of a similar length (the descriptions at 129–35, 143–50 are 6.5 and 7.5 lines long each; the similes at 136–43, 151–7 are 7.5 and 7 lines), and this similarity of length underscores the antithetical tendencies of each general. In the descriptions, inactivity and restless activity, past and present, reputation and substance, peace and destruction are at odds with each other: the *tranquillitas* and *pax* enjoyed by Pompey contrast with his opponent's *ira* and his description as *acer et indomitus*; the same verb is used of Pompey in the passive voice (*impelli*), but of Caesar in the active voice (*impellens*); Pompey is a *famae... petitor* and *stat magni nominis umbra* (135); but for Caesar, *non... tantum* | *nomen erat nec fama ducis* (143 f.), and he is possessed of a *nescia uirtus* | *stare loco* (144 f.). In the respective similes of oak and lightning, these tendencies are placed in yet more direct confrontation with each other. Pompey's age, his impotence, and the increasing irrelevance of his reputation are set at odds with Caesar's lightning speed, his capacity to inflict destruction and inspire terror, and his suicidal *furor*. These similes, by their nature, foreshadow Pompey's defeat at Pharsalus, in large part because of the predetermined outcome resulting from the confrontation of an oak tree and a bolt of lightning.

120 **stimulos dedit**: the image is from driving horses. Although the object *stimulos* is found with the compound verbs *subdo*, *condo*, and especially *addo* in imperial prose and verse, it is here first with the

simple form of the verb *do*; after *BC*: Stat. *Theb.* 1.379; *Ach.* 1.203; Sil. 14.94.

aemula uirtus: a ‘virtue that is intrinsically nationalistic. For Romans, *uirtus* was demonstrated in the process of winning personal *gloria* in the service of the Roman state. The Roman aristocrats performed in the political and religious spheres, but especially in the military realm did they win fame, not for individual exploits—for a Roman general rarely participated in the actual fighting—but for rousing their men into disciplined encounters with the enemy and leading the way to great victories. Such virtue demanded private goodness, but only that which was tied to public achievement and measured by comparison to the great individuals of the Roman past.’ (Gorman (2001) 264; cf. Earl (1967) 11–43, 20–5, 35): for its devaluation in *BC* see 144 n. Lucan imports the collocation *aemula uirtus* from another classic civil war meditation, Hor. *Epod.* 16.5, of the defection of Capua during the second Punic war. After Lucan, V. Fl. 5.86 and Sil. 1.510 redeploy the phrase in the same *sedes*.

121–4 **tu ... | ... te**: the narrator addresses each of the main protagonists in turn, marking the transition to the programmatic descriptions of each that will follow. It is typical of Lucan’s cumulative style that the notion of Pompey’s achievements being overshadowed by those of Caesar is expressed twice in consecutive sentences of parallel construction: at 121 as object of the verb *obscurent*; at 122 as subject of the verb *cedat*.

121 **noua ... acta**: Caesar’s achievements in Gaul.

ueteres ... triumphos: Pompey triumphed in 81, 71, and 62 for his achievements in Africa, Spain, and the East, respectively. For *uetus triumphus*: Ov. *Tr.* 4.2.71 predicting an Augustan triumph over Germany; Man. 5.513 [of Pompey’s Eastern victories] *hinc Pompeia manent ueteris monumenta triumph*.

122 **uictis ... Gallis**: Caesar’s campaign in Gaul began in 58 through an unforeseen opportunity offered by the attempted migration of the Helvetii (Caes. *Gal.* 1.5–29). The scope of the campaign subsequently widened beyond the northern frontier of his province as far as the upper Rhine at the end of 58 (1.30–54), and then, with two newly conscripted legions (2.1.1), to the north-east in 57 (2.1–28). In 56 he

negotiated an extension of his provincial command for another five years, and in the same year subdued the peoples of the Atlantic coast, a manoeuvre that effectively surrounded the tribes of central Gaul. 55 and 54 were occupied with campaigns in Germany and Britain, the latter resulting in nominal submission of the south-east of the island. Revolts in northern Gaul began in the winter of 54/3 and continued throughout the next year; these prompted the conscription of two further legions and the loan of a third legion from Pompey, bringing the total forces under Caesar's command to ten legions (Caes. *Gal.* 6.1, 32.5–33.4; 8.54.2). In 52 a coalition of central Gallic peoples under Vercingetorix offered considerable resistance until their decisive defeat at Alesia. Gallic resistance was largely broken at this battle, despite isolated revolts of 51.

piratica laurea: the Graecism *piraticus* (πειρατικός) is only here in verse and here marks dominance over rather than possession by pirates (cf. *OLD piraticus* 1b). In 67, and in the face of widespread opposition from within the senate, the tribune A. Gabinus passed a law granting extraordinary powers to one of the ex-consuls to deal with the problem of piracy throughout the Mediterranean. The original terms were for a three-year command; *imperium* over all the sea, the islands, and up to fifty miles inland along every coast; 200 ships; and access to funds from the treasury at Rome and from the *publicani* in the provinces (Cic. *Phil.* 11.18; Plut. *Pomp.* 25; Cass. Dio 36.23.4, 37.1; App. *Mith.* 94.428). The bill was transparently aimed at Pompey, who was duly appointed. He completed his task in the extraordinary period of three months (Cic. *Leg. Man.* 34, 56; *Flacc.* 29 f.; Liv. *per.* 99; Strab. 14.3.3; Plin. *Nat.* 7.93; Plut. *Pomp.* 28 f.; Cass. Dio 36.37.3; App. *Mith.* 95.438; Flor. 1.41.15; Eutrop. 6.12.1; Oros. 6.4.1). His brilliant success in this campaign earned him a salutation as *imperator* (SIG³ 749 A/B) and helped position him to claim command of the Mithridatic war (Seager (1979) 32–8 esp. 37).

123 Magne: Pompey was first hailed as ‘Magnus’—a title reflecting his own cultivation of imagery evoking Alexander the Great (Sall. *Hist.* 3.88; Plut. *Pomp.* 2)—by his own troops at the conclusion of his campaign to eradicate ‘Marian’ support in Africa under Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus in late 82 early 81. He did not adopt the title as his

cognomen until after 81 (Plut. *Pomp.* 12 f.; Plin. *Nat.* 7.96) (126 n.). On Lucan's use of the name in punning contexts: 34 n.

times: pointedly juxtaposed with and deflating the pretensions of Pompey's cognomen. It is consistent with Pompey's presentation throughout *BC* that his motivating principle in the lead-up to the war is the passive fear of his opponent's actions.

series ususque laborum: hendiadys. *BC*'s importing of the phrase *series laborum* into epic here (in reference to Caesar) and at 9.295 (in reference to Cato's preparations against Caesar) from Ov. *Ep.* 9.5 *seriesque immensa laborum* (of the labours of Hercules) transfers something of its original context to Caesar's restless activity in Gaul and throughout the epic.

124 inpatiensque loci fortuna secundi: adapted and recast at Stat. *Theb.* 1.128 f. *iurisque secundi* | *ambitus impatiens*, where it is also used of the *socii*... *comes discordia regnis* (cf. *Theb.* 1.130).

125–6 nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarue priorem | Pompeiusue parem: this *sententia* crystallizes the ancient historiographical tradition accounting for the outbreak of the war (Caes. *Civ.* 1.4.4; Vell. 2.29.3, 33.3; Sen. *Dial.* 6.14.3; *Ep.* 94.65; Cass. Dio 41.54.1, Flor. *Epit.* 2.13.56 *nec ille ferebat parem, nec hic superiorem*, in imitation of Lucan here). Versions of the epigram are contained in the above sources. Lintott (1971) 493 believes Lucan was the first to reduce the two aspects of the phrase into the general terms here.

126 Pompeius: the first appearance of his actual name, it occurs about half as often (81x) as does his epithet, Magnus (193x); although in book one the distribution is atypically even (4:3 in favour of Pompeius).

quis iustius induit arma: for *quis*, understand *uter*. It is an issue that was established at the outset of the poem and one that will be revisited again immediately preceding the engagement of troops at Pharsalus at 7.254–60, when Caesar declares:

haec est illa dies mihi quam Rubiconis ad undas
promissam memini, cuius spe mouimus arma,
in quam distulimus uetitos remeare triumphos,
.....

haec, fato quae teste probet, quis iustius arma
sumpserit; haec acies uictum factura nocentem est.

127 **scire nefas**: a conventional formula: 'it suggests that something is a violation of a natural or divine order' (NH on Hor. *Carm.* 1.11.1; cf. also Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.22; Ov. *Fast.* 3.325). After Lucan the collocation is employed at Stat. *Theb.* 3.563 and with variation at 4.516.

magno iudice quisque tuetur: judicial imagery is continued from the previous line and is prevalent throughout the epic, especially in the notion of war's power to absolve the victor and incriminate the defeated: cf. e.g. 227, 7.263 for revisitations of this theme.

128 **uictrix causa deis placuit sed uicta Catoni**: Lucan condenses the respective figures of authority supporting each of the protagonists into a brilliant *sententia* which gains its force from its double antitheses (*uictrix* / *uicta* and *deis* / *Catoni*), its terminal position in the introduction to this section, and its contrasting wordplay on the active and passive voices of words formed from the verb *uincere*; all strategies which were prominent within declamatory rhetoric: see Bonner (1966) esp. 260–7. For the formulation, cf. Vell. 2.49.1 on Caesar and Pompey *alterius ducis causa melior uidebatur, alterius erat firmior*.

uictrix causa deis placuit: the theme of the gods' support of Caesar's victory (he asks for it at 195–200; they show favour at 4.121–3; Caesar's prayers for Pharsalus are granted at 7.238 f. and 311–15) and their concomitant abandonment—effectively a condemnation—of Pompey (3.36, 5.813–15, 8.55, 8.604–7) finds ample support throughout the epic. So too their reluctance to punish Caesar (3.399–452 esp. 445–9; 5.654–77). Though Caesar (4.254 f., 5.499, 7.297 f.) and his troops (5.698 f.) show some awareness of this favour, the other protagonists' ignorance of the gods' partisanship (Lentulus: 5.37–40; Cicero: 7.76; Pompey's army before Pharsalus: 7.60 f.; Pompey: 7.349–55; Pothinus: 10.397 f.) is often used as a foil to their presumptions of divine support and for ironic utterances made by the narrator (6.3). As the narrative draws closer to its moment of crisis, Pompey himself has intermittent suspicions regarding his disfavour (7.85 f.); these are confirmed in books seven and eight (7.647 f., 8.142 f.; cf. Cornelia at 8.91–4).

sed uicta Catoni: in fact Cato's support of Pompey throughout *BC* is equivocal at best. At 2.286–325 it is made clear that his support of Pompey is to prevent him from believing he is conquering for his own sake. This equivocation is only confirmed by the fact that Cato does not fully support Pompey's cause until after his death (9.19–30) and in the sentiments expressed in his eulogy at 9.186–293.

129 nec coiere pares: restated and illustrated at 2.607–9; cf. Cic. *Att.* 9.19.3 *exercitu pares esse non possumus*. This explicit and programmatic statement by the narrator devalues later, less authoritative claims to equality between Caesar and Pompey (e.g. 5.3). Pompey is damned in the equation, not only through intratextual allusion to heroic pairings that are equal (4.636, Hercules and Antaeus), but through the notion's engagement with the epic motif of the ill-matched pair, wherein a lesser, usually younger opponent (here inverted) is slain by the greater skill or strength of the hero (cf. Verg. *A.* 1.475, Troilus and Achilles; 10.438, 439–505, Pallas and Turnus; 10.732–5, Orodes and Mezentius; 10.438, 789–820, Lausus and Aeneas; 11.759–835, Camilla and Arruns; and, ultimately, 12.216–18, 887–952, Turnus and Aeneas). The phrase is often cited as part of *BC*'s tendency to cast civil war in gladiatorial terms (7 n.).

129–43 The introduction of Pompey.

129–30 alter uergentibus annis | in senium: establishes the first of Pompey's explicit characteristics/shortcomings, his age. *in senium* carries nuances of decay and debility (cf. *OLD* 2a) that will find reiteration within the simile that follows. Historically, both protagonists were in their fifties at the outbreak of civil war (Caesar was 51, Pompey was 57) but Pompey had been very seriously ill in Naples in 50, and his survival, as viewed from the vantage point of the outcome of the civil war, was soon cast in terms of his outliving his earlier glory (Cic. *Tusc.* 1.86; Liv. 9.17.6; Vell. 2.48.2; Sen. *Dial.* 6.20.4; Juv. 10.283–6; Plut. *Pomp.* 46.1 f., 57.1–3); Leigh 121–4. His senescence in *BC* (which he acknowledges before Pharsalus at 7.353 *meam senectam*) aligns him with the elderly men of epic, such as Priam, Evander, Latinus, Emathion (for whom: Malamud (2003) 35 f.), or Adrastus, many of whom fail in the face of the energy and *ira* of their younger nemeses. In narrative terms, Pompey prefigures (but is historically

prefigured by) the elderly victim of the Marian proscriptions at 2.105 f. Both men, *uergentibus annis*, will fall victim to aggressive, direct descendants of Aeneas in civil war. *BC* imports the collocation *uergentibus annis* from Sen. *Cl.* 1.11.1, where it is used of the old age of Augustus; the same passage establishes the kind of energy Pompey (as one *uergentibus annis in senium*) is no longer able to muster against his younger foe: *haec Augustus senex aut iam in senectutem annis uergentibus; in adolescentia caluit, arsit ira, multa fecit, ad quae inuitus oculos retorquebat*. After Lucan, the phrase finds favour at Stat. *Theb.* 1.391 of Adrastus; *Silv.* 4.4.70 (cf. *Silv.* 3.5.24 for the poetically rare *in senium*); Tac. *Ann.* 12.44, 13.19.

130–2 **longoque togae tranquillior usu | dedidicit iam pace ducem:** cf. Cicero's assessment at *Att.* 7.13.1 *dux...ἀσπράττης*.

130 **longoque togae tranquillior usu:** Caesar echoes these same sentiments pejoratively at 311. It is precisely the opposite characteristic required to match the *furor* of civil war (e.g. 8, 96, 106) or of Caesar (155, 2.439); it devalues the occasional, corporate application of the term *furens* to both men (115, 250). Likewise, this *tranquillitas* ill befits Pompey as an epic hero about to enter into *arma/bella*. Caesar's *series ususque laborum* (123, the antithesis was noted by WB and Gagliardi) has prepared him for epic warfare (cf. the *labores* of Hercules, Jason, Odysseus, or Aeneas). Pompey's *tranquillitas*, acquired *longoque togae...usu*, indicates an ominous lack of readiness. His *tranquillitas* further excludes him from the scope and subject matter of the epic, in that it is only elsewhere used of the *pax* that precedes the civil war (171, 250) or of the *otium* of non-participation that Cato rejects at 2.266.

131 **dedidicit...ducem:** for the construction, cf. Sen. *Tr.* 884 *dedisce captam*. In a genre that places emphasis upon resourcefulness, Pompey and Caesar are notable in that they are the only epic heroes who forget (*TLL* 5.1.263.40–264.9) skills they have already acquired. The nature of their respective shortcomings speaks to the kind of insistent characterization present throughout *BC*. Pompey forgets the art of being a general, Caesar forgets how even to feign civic behaviour (3.143).

iam pace: focalization rests with Pompey, who sees the period since 62 (the termination of his Mithridatic command) as one of

peace. For Lucan's Caesar there has been no peace (which he rejects and resents at 225) only a *series ususque laborum* (123).

131–3 Pompey's desire for public approval and his ill-founded confidence in his previous fortune are cumulatively articulated and underscored in a series of infinitives: *dare, inpelli, gaudere, nec reparare, credere*. These characteristics are antithetical to those of Caesar, which occur in the same mood at 147 f.

131 **famaeque petitor**: i.e. *φιλότιμος*. Pompey's quest for fame is cast as a permanent state. *petitor* is rare in its absolute sense (*OLD* 1a) when divorced from its political and legal contexts, and Pompey is the only *petitor* in Latin epic. Perhaps there is some hint of the parody in the formulation here: *fascēs petere* is the conventional formula for seeking consular office (Fantham on 2.130). For Lucan's fondness for verbal nouns in *-tor*: 27 n.

132 **popularibus auris**: commentaries since antiquity have noted Verg. *A.* 6.816 *nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris* (ASL, Getty, WB) and Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.20, but have not explored the negative implications these references exert over Pompey's character. Through the application of this collocation and the nearby verb *gaudere* (133), Pompey takes on nuances of Vergil's Ancus (*A.* 6.816). Likewise, his desire for popular approval falls short of the definition of Roman *uirtus* at Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.17–24:

uirtus repulsae nescia sordidae
intaminatis fulget honoribus
nec sumit aut ponit securis
arbitrio **popularis aurae**:
uirtus recludens inmeritis mori
caelum negata temptat iter uia
coetusque uolgaris et udam
spernit humum fugiente pinna.

It is a shortcoming that is particularly damning, given the emphasis placed upon the hero's *uirtus* in earlier epic (e.g. Verg. *A.* 3.342, 4.3, 8.131, 12.435). The phrase *popularis aura* was a fairly common idiom for popular favour (Serv. *A.* 2.385; Cic. *Har.* 44.1; Ov. *Hal.* 70; Liv.

3.33.7, 22.26.4, 29.37.17, 30.45.6, 42.30.4; Sen. *Phaed.* 488; Quint. *Inst.* 11.1.45; cf. *TLL* 2.1479.49–76). After Lucan, Silius next uses it in an epic context at 7.512, of the Roman senate as they divide the power of Fabius.

auris: is generally passed over (11x) in favour of the more prosaic *uentus* (46x): cf. 13 n.

132–3 **auris | inpelli:** anticipates and reinforces the imagery of the oak simile at 141.

plausuque sui gaudere theatri: the use of Pompey's theatre against him here illustrates one of his fundamental characteristics, his vanity. At 7.9–44 Pompey's theatre is reused to underscore his frailty and sentimentality before Pharsalus.

The building, dedicated in 55 BC (Ascon. *In Cic. Pis.* 1; Tac. *Ann.* 14.20; Cass. Dio 39.38.1–6; Gell. 10.1.7 seems to point to the final completion of the unified complex of theatre, scaena, and temple in 52), was a visual instantiation of his own magnificence: it was the first stone theatre built in the city and its dedication was marked with lavish games and *uenationes* (Cic. *Pis.* 65 f.; Plut. *Pomp.* 52.4). It was decorated by figurative statues representing the fourteen nations which Pompey had subdued (Plin. *Nat.* 36.41; Suet. *Nero* 46.1). It culminated in a temple to Venus Victrix, flanked by temples to Honos, Virtus, Felicitas, and (most likely) Victoria (*CIL* 1.244, 277).

134 **nec reparare nouas uires:** Pompey does not seek to gain *uires nouae* until his evacuation from Brundisium (2.647), and the effect of these forces, the narrator assures us, will be to guarantee that the whole world will fall to Caesar at once (3.296 f.). Moreover, Pompey does not seek to 'renew' (*reparare*) anything at all until after the fact of Pharsalus: 9.1019 f. *Thessalicas quaerens Magnus reparare ruinas | ense iacet nostro*. This omission is particularly ominous for Pompey if we consider other examples of restoration through *nouae uires* in Latin epic. They restore Aeneas *in pristina* at Verg. *A.* 12.424 and allow him to bring the *Aeneid* to its completion. Juno inspires Jason with *nouae uires* in battle at V. Fl. 6.603. In Statius, the narrator of the *Thebaid* asks for *nouae uires* to continue his epic at 8.373 (cf. *Silv.* 1.4.22, for a similar device). Other commentators mention Ov. *Ep.* 4.90 as the likely origin of the phrase *reparare uires* (Getty, WB) and

evidence that *nouas* is here proleptic; cf. also its rise in popularity in the generation before BC at Vell. 2.37.1 (of Pompey); Curt. 4.6.1, 5.1.5; Sen. *Thy.* 475; cf. also Sen. *Her. O.* 1418.

134–5 **multumque priori | credere fortunae**: *–que* is ‘but’. Magnus himself demonstrates this when he enumerates to his troops his past triumphs at 2.530–95, esp. 546–9, 576–94; he is oblivious that Fortune has already deserted him (2.727 f.). The folly of his confidence is bitterly apparent to the hero in his flight from Pharsalus at 8.21–31:

sed poenas longi Fortuna fauoris
exigit a misero, quae tanto pondere famae
res premit aduersas fatisque prioribus urguet.
nunc festinatos nimium sibi sentit honores
actaque lauriferae damnat Sullana iuuentae,
nunc et Corycias classes et Pontica signa
deiectum meminisse piget. sic longius aeuum
destruit ingentis animos et uita superstes
imperio. nisi summa dies cum fine bonorum
adfuit et celeri praeuertit tristia leto,
dedecori est fortuna prior.

The implication of *multum* here is clearly Pompey’s *excessive* trust in fortune (WB, Gagliardi).

stat magni nominis umbra: ‘in a reversal of the *nomen* / *omen* figure, Pompeius’ destiny is no longer embedded in his name, as it had once been’ (Feeney (1986) 239 and *passim* for Lucan on Pompey’s name). Pompey’s confidence in his *nomen* is revisited at 2.633, 8.276, 8.321, and 9.92. When the senate appoints Pompey in Epirus, the narrator tells us that it is his *nomen* rather than the man himself they greet with joy (5.47). In the immediate aftermath of Pharsalus, he reviles his *nomen* at 8.21. The status of each of the main protagonists in relation to their *nomen* is indicative of their characterization throughout BC: Pompey is an *umbra nominis* while alive, a *sacrum nomen* after his death (8.792, 806); Cato truly earns his *clarum et uenerabile nomen* (8.792, 806, 9.597) and, when his death is foreshadowed, it also become *sacrum* (9.409); Caesar is more than mere *nomen* (144).

Here and throughout *BC* (as is made explicit at 144), *nomen* often draws attention to the absence of true substance beneath the signifier. Represented at 519 is not war but the rumour of war; at 2.303, not liberty but its absence; at 2.342, not true marriage but its appearance; at 2.465, not Caesar but his name; at 5.389, not true authority but its name; at 5.398, not the office and power of consul, but their names marking the calendar; at 7.392, not the towns of Italy, but fables arising from their extinction; at 9.964 and 973, not the ruins of Troy, but their legend; at 9.1050, not the crime of Pompey's death but its name; at 10.389, not the reputation of greatness, but its reality. Also, *nomen* sometimes exposes the disparity between the name and the reality: at 668 *scelerique nefando* | *nomen erit uirtus*; at 7.694, the parties in opposition at Pharsalus are not the *Pompei nomen* and Caesar, but *libertas* and Caesar; at 8.609, the narrator wonders what Pompey's murder will be called for those who style Brutus' assassination of Caesar a crime.

For the phrase, cf. Vell. 2.1.4 *Pompeium magni nominis uirum*. It is difficult to see why Getty and WB have favoured Verg. A. 11.223. If a Vergilian precedent is required for the phrase, its application at 7.412 seems of greater relevance. After Lucan: [Sen.] *Oct.* 71; Quint. *Inst.* 12.10.15.

umbra: the other great insubstantial semblance (*OLD* 10) in *BC* is *libertas* (2.303, 3.146).

136–43 The simile of the oak tree. This comparison is programmatic for Lucan's characterization of Pompey throughout *BC* and should be read closely with the simile that follows at 151–7 (cf. Rosner-Siegel (1983) 165–7). In the first instance it declares his inertia (139 *pondere fixa suo est*). It cumulatively articulates both the esteem with which he is treated (137 f. *exuuias... sacrataque gestans* | *dona*) and the obsolescence of his reputation (142 f. *tot circum siluae firmo se robore tollant*, | *sola tamen colitur*). It makes explicit the inadequacy of Pompey's strength for the upcoming confrontation (138 *nec iam ualidis radicibus haerens*; 139 f. *nudosque per aera ramos effundens* | *trunco*) and it strongly prefigures his defeat and death (141 *primo nutet casura sub Euro*), an aspect of this simile that is vigorously revisited in Caesar's desecration of a Massilian grove comprised, among other trees, of venerated, old oaks at 3.399–449 esp. 432–4.

The characteristics announced in the simile are reflected throughout the narrative in Pompey's habit of trying to remain in fixed locations (2.392–438, Capua; 2.609–736, Brundisium; 6.11–117, Petra) and in his obsession with the past (3.1–7, 7.7–44).

The relationship between this oak simile and that which defines Aeneas at Verg. *A.* 4.441–6 has long been recognized and casts Pompey in the role of a failed Aeneas, who reverses the trajectory and outcome of the Augustan epic (Ahl 183–9; see *Intro.* §§1(a), 4 (a)). Cicero's assessment may also be relevant: *Att.* 6.6.4 *Pompeius, eo robore uir, iis radicibus.*

136 frugifero...in agro: the grove's fertility underscores Pompey's competition (cf. 142 f.) and his inactivity in the face of this competition (cf. 134). The adjective *frugifer* (καρποφόρος) is perhaps influenced by Ovid's use of *glandiferus* at *Met.* 12.328. For compound adjectives in *BC* see 48 n.

quercus sublimis: for the oak tree within epic simile, cf. Catul. 64.105–9; Verg. *A.* 3.679–81, 4.441–6, 9.679–82 (also *G.* 3.332 f.); Stat. *Theb.* 9.532–6; Sil. 10.164–9.

137 exuuias...sacratque gestans | dona ducum: illustrates Pompey's veneration and alludes to his military successes. It bodes ill for Pompey that he is described at the outset of the poem in terms appropriate to a *tropaeum*. For the archaic practice of adorning tree trunks with the spoils of conquered opponents: Hom. *Il.* 10.460–6; Liv. 1.10.5; Verg. *A.* 10.423, 11.5–8; Stat. *Theb.* 2.707–12. The combination of *exuuias* and *dona* occurs elsewhere only at Sil. 6.665.

exuuias ueteris populi: echoing 132 *popularibus auris*. Here the adjective is transferred by hypallage from *exuuias* to *populi* (Getty): cf. Stat. *Theb.* 6.67. *ueteris* also alludes to Pompey's long period of inactivity, cf. 130 f.

137–8 sacrata...|dona ducum: the collocation *sacrata dona* reappears at V. Fl. 7.48; Mart. 9.16.2; *dona ducum* at Mart. 8.56.2.

gestans | dona: cf. Sen. *Her. O.* 658–60 *coniunx...gestat pelagi dona rubentis.*

138 nec iam ualidis radicibus haerens: Pompey exhibits precisely the opposite characteristics of Lucretius' symbiotic groups, the soul and the body (3.325 f. *nam communibus inter se radicibus haerent* |

nec sine perniciē diuelli posse uidentur) and the earth and the sky (5.554 f. *nam communibus inter se radicibus haerent | ex ineunte aeuo coniuncta atque uniter aucta*); he is also antithetical to the typical presentation of trees with vigorous roots, esp. Verg. *A.* 4.445 f., a reference which damns him by comparison with Aeneas; cf. also Lucr. 2.103 (arboreal analogy to describe the strength of iron); Verg. *G.* 2.367; Ov. *Met.* 1.551. Relevant also is Lucr. 4.1204 on the strength of desire and Man. 4.828 on the cohesion of the earth's constituent elements. Lucan's Pompey is also the antithesis of his historical reputation: Cic. *Att.* 6.6.4 (quoted at 136–43).

139 pondere fixa suo est: it bodes poorly for Pompey that he is fixed by his own *pondus*. The word is rarely used in *BC* in contexts that could be considered neutral in their implications, and never in positive contexts. The narrator has already told us of the consequences of being pinned under too great a weight at 71 *nimioque graues sub pondere lapsus | nec se Roma ferens* and we cannot expect one man, *pondere fixus suo*, to fare better. This prediction is reinforced in the imagery of buildings collapsing (2.188), of the universe imploding (2.291), and of the human body falling in death (7.572). Indeed, it is as a means, an assistant, or as a side-effect of death that *pondus* is most frequently used in *BC*: 500, 2.155, 2.505, 3.480, 3.581, 3.626, 3.649, 3.752, 4.564, 4.776, 6.199, 7.513, 9.649, 9.801 (cf. 6.739: the weight of burial). It is significant that Caesar is twice described as removing burdens from himself at 5.354 and 9.951, since Pompey can only relieve himself of the *pondus fati* by abandoning the battle at Pharsalus at 7.686; elsewhere, as here, he is pinned under the weight of his former fortune (8.22). Ultimately, the word is used to describe Pompey's corpse at 8.724 and to imagine a fitting tomb for him at 8.866.

139–40 nudosque...umbram: *Comm. Bern.* states that this detail pertains to the sons of Pompey and their inexperience as generals, but this seems less plausible than a reference to his old age and inactivity at 129–31.

nudosque...ramos: cf. the description of the underworld at Sen. *Thy.* 110 f.

per aera: after its appearance at Lucr. 6.229, it is always in this metrical *sedes*: Verg. *A.* 1.300, 6.202; Ov. *Am.* 6.33; *Met.* 2.158, 2.320,

3.726, 5.644, 5.660, 6.216, 8.546, 8.796, 10.279, 10.708, 11.194, 14.258, 14.821, 15.99; Man. 5.92; Stat. *Theb.* 6.385; Sil. 15.141; Juv. 13.169; *Ilias* 120.

140 effundens: 'stretching out' (*OLD* 15); cf. Tib. 1.3.38; V. Fl. 1.762, 4.375.

trunco non frondibus efficit umbram: explicitly evoking the death and decapitation of Magnus, reprised at 685 (see n.).

Getty's punctuation and explanation does not acknowledge the clear contrast between the two instrumental ablatives *trunco* and *frondibus*. For the position and use of *non frondibus*: Ov. *Met.* 10.90 f. *afuit... | ...non nemus Heliadum, non frondibus aesculus altis*.

141 quamuis: looks forward to its correlative *tamen* at 143. Lucan prefers *quamuis* (33x) to *quamquam* (10x) in contrast to Vergilian usage.

primo... sub Euro: *Eurus* is here poetic for wind in general (WB). A further point of importance is that Pompey's oak will fall at the first breath of wind, since endurance is the paramount quality of Aeneas' oak tree at Verg. *A.* 4.442–6:

Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc
eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae
consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;
ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum uertice ad auras
aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:

nutet casura: the participle makes explicit nuances already in the verb (*OLD* *nuto* 4b), as at Verg. *A.* 2.629. The collocation is next used when Caesar sees his opportunity for battle at Pharsalus at 7.243 f. *uidit | casuram <et> fatis sensit nutare ruinam*.

142–3 tot... | sola: their position at the start of the line underscores the antithesis; cf. 510 f. *o faciles... | difficiles*, 3.3 f., 5.496 f., 6.281 f., 8.80 f., 8.116 f. 8.344 f., 10.490 f.; Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.116 f. with further examples.

142 siluae: synecdoche for *arbores* (*OLD* 3b); cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.6.84; *Fast.* 1.5.12.

firmo... robore: in pointed contrast to Pompey's lack of strength (cf. 134, 138 f.). These words are reused by Curio to underscore the

weakness of Pompey's faction at 280 *dum trepidant nullo firmatae robore partes*, | *tolle moras*.

143 sola tamen colitur: the simile concludes where it began, by illustrating the esteem with which Pompey is regarded, only now the reader has been apprised of the fact that this veneration results more from habit than merit.

143–4 Caesar's characteristics are introduced by two negative statements which deny to Caesar the principal characteristics of Pompey: reliance upon *nomen* (144, cf. 135) and *fama* (144, cf. 134 f.).

non in Caesare tantum | nomen erat nec fama ducis: commentators are divided between reading *non... tantum* as an adjectival pun on Pompey's name, meaning 'not great' (e.g. Haskins, Getty, Gagliardi) and adverbial, meaning 'not only' (e.g. Lejay, WB). The latter sense is preferable for a number of reasons. First, *BC* uses *non/nec... tantum* in its adverbial sense at 3.368, 3.472, 5.370, 8.506. Second, the notion that Caesar has not only name but substance beneath that name establishes a programmatic contrast with Pompey, who is a *magni nominis umbra* (135 n.). Third, reading *non... tantum* as adverbial obviates the need to supply *tanta* to *fama* (144) by syllepsis. Fourth, we are told that Caesar has both a great name and a great reputation for generalship throughout the text, at 121–3 (Pompey fears Caesar's achievements will eclipse his), 2.600 (Caesar's *fama*), 5.468 (both are *tantae... nomina famae*), 10.389 (Pothinus has heard of Caesar's *nomina tanta*).

144–5 nescia uirtus | stare loco: Getty, WB and Gagliardi have all noted the allusion to Verg. *G.* 3.83 f. *si qua sonum procul arma dedere*, | *stare loco nescit*, but none have considered the manner in which the intertextual allusion to a thoroughbred compounds *BC*'s aggressive presentation of Caesar at the moment of his introduction. This equine allusion is reinforced by the second simile used to describe Caesar at 293–5, that of an *Eleus sonipes* who is eager to burst forth from its gates. For the construction of adjective and infinitive, see 17 n.

uirtus: though it is associated with both at 120, *uirtus* is nowhere exclusively applied to Pompey; at three points Caesar is credited with it (here, by the narrator; 5.682, by his own troops; 10.188, by

himself), although in its last appearance in the epic, *uirtus* is explicitly denied him (10.539). Individuals and anonymous troops fighting for Caesar are associated with *uirtus* most of all (17x) but their possession of it, as well as their general's, is devalued by a number of pronouncements throughout the epic, such as at 668 *scelerique nefando* | *nomen erit uirtus* (so Figulus); 6.147 f. *qui nesciret in armis* | *quam magnum uirtus crimen ciuilibus esset* (so the narrator on Scaeva); 6.262 *infelix, quanta dominum uirtute parasti!* (the narrator on Scaeva); 8.494 f. *uirtus et summa potestas* | *non coeunt* (Pothinus). Of all the individuals throughout *BC*, *uirtus* is attributed most frequently to Cato (11x; 5x by the narrator).

145 solusque pudor non uincere bello: i.e. 'without warfare' (*Comm. Bern.*). For the paradox, cf. Caesar at 2.439–46 esp. 439 f. *in arma furens nullas nisi sanguine fuso* | *gaudet habere uias*. Hosius (1907) thought *uincere bello* (again at 366) was Ennian because of its use at Lucil. 450. A sense of *pudor* ('shame, dishonour', *OLD* 4) is again ascribed to Caesar at 263 f. *cunctasque pudoris* | *rumpunt fata moras*.

146 acer et indomitus: *acer* is used later to describe the *irarum stimulos* applied to Brutus by Cato at 2.323 and the wrath of Caesar himself at 3.142. *indomitus* is used of Caesar's *furor* at 3.304, of his forces at 4.505 (under Vulteius) and 5.309; after Pharsalus, the struggle is to remain *indomitus* by Caesar (9.95: Pompey to his sons; 9.380: Cato to his troops). Elsewhere the adjective is used of geographical outsiders (2.52, 4.156, 8.364) and enemies (2.581). For the combination of the adjectives together: *Epic. Drusi* 17; *Juv.* 2.77.

quo spes quoque ira uocasset: cf. the antithetical formulation of Cato at 2.287 *quo fata trahunt, uirtus secura sequetur*. For a literal illustration of this tendency, cf. 6.29 f. *hic auidam belli rapuit spes inproba mentem* | *Caesaris*. In book seven, Caesar himself defines his efforts in the war as inspired by *spes*. He proclaims to his troops at 7.254 f. *haec est illa dies mihi quam Rubiconis ad undas* | *promissam memini, cuius spe mouimus arma*, and declares at 7.297 *spe trepido*. As the opposing columns clash at Pharsalus, the narrator revisits their respective hopes at 7.386 f. *ergo utrimque pari procurrunt agmina motu* | *irarum; metus hos regni, spes excitat illos*. *ira* is one of the most insistently illustrated characteristics of Lucan's Caesar. Though it is endemic in the generation preceding civil war (173), Caesar

monopolizes the emotion (here, 207, 292, 2.493, 3.133, 3.136, 3.142, 3.357, 3.439, 5.318, 7.802, 7.809, 8.134, 8.643, 8.756, 10.443) and far exceeds the next most enraged entities in the poem, the gods (617, 2.1, 2.86; cf. esp. 3.439). For the phrase, cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.668; Sen. *Ag.* 142.

147–8 *ferre ... numquam parcere ... | urguere ... instare*: these infinitives strengthen the comparison with Pompey's characteristics, which are also articulated in the same mood at 132–5 *dare ... | inPELLI ... gaudere ... nec reparare ... | credere* (131–3 n.).

147 *ferre manum*: cf. Verg. *A.* 5.403 (Getty, WB, Gagliardi); add *Ciris* 346.

et *numquam temerando parcere ferro*: cf. 7.728–30. *temerando* is 'to pollute, defile' (*OLD* 4; cf. *ASL*).

148 *urguere*: 'to follow up (an opportunity, success)' (*OLD* 12b).

148–9 *instare fauori | numinis*: Braund's rendering of *instare*, 'he pressed hard upon', well captures its nuances here (*TLL* 7.2003.5–11). Silius adapts the phrase for Hannibal at 1.268 *instat fatis*.

149–50 *inpellens quidquid sibi summa petenti | obstaret*: cf. 125 *nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarue priorem*. It is consistent with their relative characterization throughout the poem that Caesar is the subject of the verb *inpellere*, but Pompey its object at 133.

150 *gaudensque uiam fecisse ruina*: a bellicose antithesis to Pompey at 133 *plausuque sui gaudere theatri* and a reprisal—but this time as a willing agent—of the degeneration into civil war as articulated at 80 *in se magna ruunt*. A concrete illustration of Caesar's predilection is offered at 2.439–46:

Caesar in arma furens nullas nisi sanguine fuso
gaudet habere uias, quod non terat hoste uacantis
Hesperiae fines uacuosque inrumpat in agros
atque ipsum non perdat iter consertaque bellis
bella gerat. non tam portas intrare patentis
quam fregisse iuuat, nec tam patiente colono
arua premi quam si ferro populetur et igni.
concessa pudet ire uia ciuemque uidere.

Caesar's other 'joys' are alluded to at 3.82 *gaudet . . . esse timori*; and at 5.301–3 *Caesar | fortunamque suam per summa pericula gaudens | exercere*.

uiam fecisse: not Ovidian (Getty, WB): Pl. *Bac.* 692, *Trin.* 645; Liv. (e.g.) 2.12.8, 3.5.6.

ruina: a key word for Lucan (42x, always in this *sedes*), which reiterates his imagery of architectural ruination.

151–7 The simile of the lightning. This introduction of Caesar not only establishes a pointed contrast to Pompey's passive nature and his reliance upon the past, but is programmatic for the rest of the poem's presentation of Caesar. Special emphasis is placed here upon Caesar's mobility, speed, and impatience (144 f., 146, 148–50; cf. 183, 229–31, 291–5; 2.650–60; 3.298 f., 359 f., 453–5); his destructive capabilities (149 f., 156 f. cf. 2.439–46); and his capacity to inspire fear (153 f. cf. 3.80–3, 300). The similar presentation of Alexander and his comparison to a bolt of lightning at 10.25–38—

nam sibi libertas umquam si redderet orbem
 ludibrio seruatus erat, non utile mundo
 editus exemplum, terras tot posse sub uno
 esse uiro. Macetum fines latebrasque suorum
 deseruit uictasque patri despexit Athenas,
 perque Asiae populos fatis urgulentibus actus
 humana cum strage ruit gladiumque per omnis
 exegit gentes, ignotos miscuit amnes
 Persarum Euphraten, Indorum sanguine Gangen,
 terrarum fatale malum fulmenque quod omnis
 percuteret pariter populos et sidus iniquum
 gentibus. Oceano classes inferre parabat
 exteriore mari. non illi flamma nec undae
 nec sterilis Libye nec Syrticus obstitit Hammon.

—both underscores the similarity between the Roman and the Macedonian (148 f., cf. 10.30; 157, cf. 10.31; 151–7, cf. 10.34 f.; 149 f., cf. 10.38) and establishes the similarly damning moral viewpoint adopted by the narrator in regard to both men (7.695 f., cf. 10.25 f.). The point and imagery of Caesar as a *fulmen* is reprised in

Florus' account of Caesar's defeat of Pharnaces, *more fulminis*, at *Epit.* 2.13.240.

In book one, lightning imagery is again revisited in the prodigies occurring at 526–35 esp. 527 f. *uolantes | obliquas...faces*, 530 *fulgura...micuerunt*, 533 f. *emicuit...fulmen* and the response of Arruns to these events at 606 f. *Arruns dispersos fulminis ignes | colligit*. These allusions effectively bookend the narrative of Caesar's invasion of Italy (and the reaction to this attack) with imagery associated with the general and reasserting the primary focus in the first book upon Caesar.

151 expressum uentis per nubila fulmen: cf. 3.409 f. *excussa que nubibus atris | fulgura*; Sen. *Nat.* 2.12.5 f. *exprimi collis nubibus* for the cause of lightning and concomitant thunder (with Hine (1981) ad loc.).

152 aetheris inpulsi sonitu: for the causes of thunder, cf. Lucr. 6.99–155; Sen. *Nat.* 2.27.2–4; for the phrase in verse, cf. Verg. *G.* 4.78 f.; A. 8.525; Sen. *Med.* 344; *Phaed.* 675.

mundique fragore: cf. *Phaed.* 16.16; Sen. *Tro.* 355; *Dial.* 7.11.1.

152–3 fragore | emicuit: cf. Liv. 21.58.5; Sen. *Con.* 7.1.4; Sen. *Oed.* 232.

diem: 'the open sky; a region of the sky' (*OLD* 2b).

153–4 populosque pauentes | terruit obliqua praestringens lumina flamma: focalization shifts from the sky to those on the ground. For the *populus* in *BC* see 83 n.

153 pauentes: Lucan is fond of this word as noun, verb, and adjective (56x); cf. Vergil: 16x (Mackay (1961) 312 f.).

154 obliqua...flamma: Rosner-Siegel (1983) 169 notes the corresponding movement of Caesar's cavalry at 220; for the collocation: Man. 1.584. The first explanation for this trajectory is Sen. *Nat.* 2.58.2 *quia spiritu constat, spiritus autem obliquus est flexuosusque* (with Hine (1981) ad loc.).

praestringens lumina: 'dazzling' (*OLD* 3) Lucan brings the verb and this object together in epic; after *BC* they appear together at Stat. *Theb.* 5.666; Sil. 1.358 (the meteoric movement of the *falarica*).

155 in sua templa furit: the notion is drawn from Lucretius: 6.417–20 *postremo cur sancta deum delubra suasque | discutit infesto praeclaras fulmine sedes | et bene facta deum frangit simulacra suisque | demit imaginibus uiolento uolnere honorem?* Here, *templum* is ‘a zone, space, region, quarter’ (OLD 4). As with the lion simile used to describe Caesar at 205–12, the lighting simile illustrates his self-destructive behaviour as much as his capacity for inflicting destruction upon others (cf. *ASL ut Caesar in suam urbem furit*). The present phrase moreover strongly prefigures the ultimate apotheosis of Caesar.

furit: used of both the living triumvirs at 115; after that, *furere* is applied nowhere else to Pompey, but repeatedly to Caesar: 2.439, 2.551, 7.797.

uetante: ‘is able to forbid’: the potential force of the verb is to the fore (cf. Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.626).

156 materia: ‘any substance of which a physical object is made or composed, material’ (OLD 4); the word is relatively uncommon in poetry outside of Lucretius and Ovid (5x in Luc.): Kenney (1996) on Ov. *Ep.* 16.148.

156–7 magnamque cadens magnamque reuertens | dat stragem late: note the pointed punning of Pompey’s name in the repeated adjective *magnam*: see 34 n. *magnamque cadens* is reused at Sil. 10.224 on the death of Servilius at Cannae. On the belief that bolts of lightning returned to the sky: Sen. *Ep.* 57.8, *Nat.* 2.40.1–2, 57.4; Hine (1981) on Sen. *Nat.* 2.40.1–2, for whom the earliest known mention is Xen. *Mem.* 4.3.14. For *dat stragem late*, cf. Lucr. 1.288; Verg. *G.* 3.556 (Getty, WB); add Liv. 8.30.7; Verg. *A.* 12.454. The cumulative effect of these intertextual references to natural disasters is considerable: by this phrase Caesar’s destructive capabilities are variously likened to a river in flood (Lucr. 1.288), a pestilential outbreak (Verg. *G.* 3.556), and the breaking of a storm (*A.* 12.454).

157 sparsosque recolligit ignes: cf. 606 f.; Verg. *G.* 1.427; Sen. *Suas.* 3.5.3; Sen. *Ben.* 1.9.5; *Oed.* 506; V. Fl. 2.354, 5.431; Juv. 13.146.

158–82 THE CAUSES OF THE WAR 4: MORAL DECLINE AT ROME

The poet now reviews the *publica belli semina*.

Moral decline and the historiographical tradition

BC promotes a widespread abandonment of the *mos maiorum* (161) in the period following Rome's expansions throughout the Mediterranean (160 *mundo subacto*). This cessation of moral austerity gives rise to *luxus* (162) in the following forms: the ostentatious display of wealth (163 f.); the rejection of the toga in favour of effeminate clothing (164 f.); the adoption of a variety of unnamed, pernicious objects and activities from foreign countries (166 f.); the growth of *latifundia* throughout Italy (167–70). Exposure to these corrupting influences is cited as impairing the ability of the *populus Romanus* to abstain from violence (171 f.). Attention now switches to the political ramifications of these new *mores*: transgression of the constitution (174 f.); the triumph of violence over legality (175 f.); the coercion of laws (176 f.); electoral bribery (178–80); the escalation of debt to the point where war is desirable to some elements in Roman society (181 f.).

This final overview of the moral shortcomings of the late republic is relevant to specific characters within the narrative who are praised or damned according to their ability to resist the moral degeneracy of their generation. Particularly relevant in this respect is Curio, who (like Sallust's Catiline) is a man very much in step with the portrait offered up here of the *populus Romanus*. At 176 f., BC generalizes about *leges et plebis scita coactae | et cum consulibus turbantes iura tribuni*. As if to underscore Curio's status as a specific example of this phenomenon, he is made to speak in similar language of his own activity on Caesar's behalf at 277; the narrator re-employs the same motif and vocabulary in his death notice at 4.799–801 *quid nunc rostra tibi prosunt turbata forumque | unde tribunicia plebeius signifer arce | arma dabas populis*? Conversely, many of the themes established here are revisited as a foil to the virtuous character of Cato in his

introduction in book two. At 2.257 Brutus styles him *immunem corrupti moribus aevi*. In a period when it is stated at 163–5 that *non auro tectisue modus, mensasque priores | aspernata fames; cultus gestare decoros | uix nuribus rapuere mares*, the narrator's portrait of Cato exonerates him of these tendencies point for point at 2.385–7:

huic epulae uicisse famem, magnique penates
summuisse hiemem tecto, pretiosaue uestis
hirtam membra super Romani more Quiritis
induxisse togam...

For Lucan's participation in the tradition of moralizing historiography, see Introd. §6(a).

158 hae ducibus causae: marks an end to the summary of the private causes centred around individual personalities (84–157) and prepares the reader for the extension of the theme announced at 67 *causas tantarum expromere rerum* to the more endemic problems, the *publica semina*, of the generation preceding the civil war.

causae... suberant: *subesse* is often used of underlying causes (Tarrant (1976) on Sen. Ag. 246). It is not an Ovidian phrase (Getty): it does appear at *Fast.* 2.514, 4.140, 4.368, 5.350, 6.266; but cf. Cic. *Clu.* 44.6; *Fin.* 5.29; *Off.* 1.38; *Att.* 1.10.2; *Nep. Alc.* 1.4. There is no need to assume that *belli* and *suberant* are both taken with both *causae* and *semina* (Getty) when the natural inclination to supply *erant* after *causae* obviates the need for ingenuity.

158–9 suberant... semina: redeployed in the same position at V. Fl. 7.555.

belli | semina: cf. 3.150, 6.395 *semina Martis*; cf. Cic. *Off.* 2.8.29 *nec uero umquam bellorum ciuiliū semen et causa deerit* (Haskins, Getty, WB, Gagliardi); also note Cicero on Antony's part in the civil war between Caesar and Pompey at Cic. *Phil.* 2.55 *ut igitur in seminibus est causa arborum et stirpiū, sic huius luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti*. After Cicero, the collocation *semen belli* and variants are found frequently in Livy (3.19.5 [*semina discordiarum*], 28.32.10, 40.16.3; *per.* 48.2, 51.19). Lucan brings it into verse; after here: Stat. *Theb.* 1.243, 3.235, 7.563 (*semina pugnae*); Sil. 1.654.

semina, quae populos semper mersere potentis: cf. Liv. 34.4.1 f. *diuersisque duobus uitiiis, auaritia et luxuria, ciuitatem laborare, quae pestes omnia magna imperia euerterunt.*

populos . . . potentis: 2 n.

mersere: in a broad sense ‘to destroy’ (TLL 8.835.29–51; Ov. Tr. 3.11.38; Sen. Ep. 55.3).

160 namque: like γάρ, it is deployed here as a text marker in the development of a story, but it also retains its explanatory sense: cf. Verg. Ecl. 6.31; G. 2.10, 4.158; Mynors (1990) on Verg. G. 4.125.

opes nimias: revisits the imagery of 71 *nimioque graues sub pondere lapsus*. The collocation is used at Sal. Hist. 2.47.7 of Mithridates’ resources; Quint. Decl. 264.12; Juv. 10.105 of Sejanus’ avarice.

160–1 mundo fortuna subacto | intulit: the prominent role of a personified *fortuna* is taken over from the same context (*mundo subacto*) at Sal. Cat. 10.1 *res publica creuit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi ingentes ui subacti, Carthago aemula imperi Romani ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant, saeuire fortuna ac miscere omnia coepit*; cf. Cat. 8.1 (Aricò (1971) 72).

rebus mores cessere secundis: further Sallustian paradigms of decay: Cat. 10.4 *namque auaritia fidem probitatem ceterasque artis bonas subuertit* (Aricò (1971) 73). Within BC, illustration of the contrast between contemporary and ancestral customs is made in the exchange between Brutus and Cato in book two. At 2.257 Brutus speaks of the *corrupti moribus aevi*, while at 2.385 the narrator extols Cato’s emulation of the *mos maiorum: pretiosaque uestis | hirtam membra super Romani more Quiritis | induxisse togam*.

162 praedaeque et hostiles luxum suasere rapinae: the notion that Rome was corrupted by exposure to foreign luxury was a common and enduring theme in republican and early imperial literature (Lintott (1972) 626–38). Sallust outlines an identical process in a similar equation at Cat. 12.2 *igitur ex diuitiis iuuentutem luxuria atque auaritia cum superbia inuasere*.

163 non auro tectisue modus: Getty labelled this hendiadys and WB was open to the possibility, but the evidence cited (Sen. Ep. 114.9, 115.9; Sil. 13.351–60) has no relevance to this construction and merely refers to the practice of plating of ceilings with gold. The

straightforward response would be to take the two items separately: 'there was no limit set to gold (or 'gold plate': *OLD aurum* 4b) and houses (*OLD tectum* 2a)'; cf. Fordyce (1940) 97. For the inclusion of this theme within moralizing accounts of moral decline: Sall. *Cat.* 12.3; Sen. *Ep.* 114.9.

163–4 mensasque priores aspernata fames: cf. the old-school austerity of Cato at 2.384 *huic epulae uicisse famem*. *mensa* here is 'food, fare' (*OLD* 7); *BC*'s narrator again returns to the theme of dietary extravagance at 4.373–81:

o prodiga rerum
luxuries numquam paruo contenta paratis
et quaesitorum terra pelagoque ciborum
ambitiosa fames et laetae gloria mensae,
discite quam paruo liceat producere uitam
et quantum natura petat. non erigit aegros
nobilis ignoto diffusus consule Bacchus,
non auro murraque bibunt, sed gurgite puro
uita reddit. satis est populis fluuiusque Ceresque.

164–5 cultus gestare decoros | uix nuribus rapuere mares: a variation on the theme had been visited at Sen. *Nat.* 7.31.2 *colores meretricios matronis quidem non induendos uiri sumimus*. Notorious examples of effeminate or transvestite clothing among officials and aristocrats of the late republic are the *tunica talaris* worn by Verres in Sicily (Cic. *Ver.* 5.31; cf. Gell. 6.12.1), the *muliebres uestes* of P. Clodius (Cic. *Har.* 43 f. and [Schoell] fr. 8.15.22, 24), and the *tunicae talaris* of Catiline's associates (Cic. *Cat.* 2.22) (Sebesta and Bonfante (1994) 134, 139–41). As frequently in poetry, and owing to the metrical intractability of *feminis* or *mulieribus*, *nurus* merely indicates 'a young (married) woman' (*OLD* 2).

165–6 fecunda uirorum | paupertas fugitur: *BC* again accords with Sallustian motifs of moral decay: *Cat.* 12.1 *hebescere uirtus, paupertas probro haberi* (Aricò (1971) 73). The notion of the frugality of the early republic as a causative agent in its excellence, both moral and military, was a commonplace adapted from Greek sources (e.g. Eur. fr. 641.3; Theoc. 21.1–3) and applied frequently from the Augustan period onwards, as at e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.1–4 (cf. NH on Hor. *Carm.*

1.12.42, who cite Verg. G. 1.145 f.; V. Max. 4.4.11; Sen. *Con.* 1.6.4, 2.1; Sen. *Ep.* 87.41). The narrator will again extol the virtues of *paupertas* at 5.528–31 and here, as often, the word suggests a modest sufficiency rather than an abject destitution (cf. Porph. on Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.199; NH on Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.43). After BC, Silius adapts this line at 5.674 f. [Hannibal declares of republican Italy] *creat... tellus | magnanimos fecunda uiros*. The construction of *fecundus* + gen. first appears at Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.17 and gains currency in Lucan's generation (esp. Colum. 3.10.16, 9.4.2, 11.2.90).

166–7 *totoque accersitur orbe | quo gens quaeque perit*: periphrasis for *diuitiae* in general (WB, Galgiardi). The clause is the logical consequence of the fact that *paupertas* *fugitur*.

167–70 The narrator now turns to a further symptom of moral decline, the emergence of *latifundia*. In citing this phenomenon under the trope of the cessation of the *mos maiorum*, Lucan concurs with a moral viewpoint common in early imperial literature: Liv. 34.4.9; Sen. *Con.* 5.5; Sen. *Ep.* 87.7, 89.20; Ben. 7.10; Plin. *Nat.* 18.35 (White (1967) 62–79).

167–70 *longos... fines | ...longa...rura*: both adjectives are proleptic.

168–9 *duro sulcata... | uomere*: cf. the variant phrase at 6.382 *discessit uomere sulcus*. For *durus uomere*: Verg. G. 3.515; for *sulcare uomere*: Ov. *Tr.* 3.10.68 (noted by Getty); after Lucan: [Sen.] *Oct.* 414; Stat. *Theb.* 4.435–7 (on *durus Cadmus*); Sil. 9.191.

Camilli... | Curiorum: both familiar exemplars of republican excellence, but especially relevant because of the similar grouping of these in the context of *paupertas* at Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.41–4 *hunc et incomptis Curium capillis | utilem bello tulit et Camillum | saeua paupertas et auitus apto | cum lare fundus*.

M. Furius Camillus (cos. trib. 401, 398, 394, 386, 384, 381, (trad.) cens. 403, dic. 396, 390, 389, 368, 367) annexed Veii in 396. His role in the expulsion of the Gauls from Rome in 390, as well as his exile at this time, is probably fabrication. He no doubt played a significant role in the rebuilding of Rome after its sack, but his precise actions and the speed of the recovery are in dispute. In the decade following Rome's sack he repulsed attacks by the Etruscans (389, 386), defeated

the Volscians and the Aequi (389), and annexed Tusculum (381). His Gallic victory of 367 is probably spurious (Cornell (1989*a*) 298, 306; (1989*b*) 312, 316, 320). He appears again in contexts which censure the events and characters of *BC* elsewhere at 2.544 and (coupled with Curius) at 6.786 f., 7.358.

M.⁷ Curius Dentatus (the plural is poetic) (cos. 290, ? 284 (suff.), 275, 274, cens. 272) enjoyed military victories over the Samnites (290) for which he triumphed for the first time, the Sabini and Praetutti (290), the Senones (283), and the Lucani (274). Especially relevant to his status as a paragon of Roman *mores* here is his decisive victory and triumph over Pyrrhus in 275 (Liv. *per.* 14; Val. Max. 6.3.4), whom we have already encountered at line 30 as a usual suspect for the *tantis cladibus auctor* responsible for the destruction inflicted upon Italy by the civil war. The encomiastic tradition surrounding Curius which stressed his (fabricated) poverty and steadfast resistance to financial corruption (e.g. Cic. *Sen.* 16.56; *Rep.* 3.28.40; *Parad.* 48; Val. Max. 4.3.5; Plin. *Nat.* 19.87; Plu. *Cat. Ma.* 2.1 f.; *Mor.* 194e–f; Fron. 4.3.2; Flor. *Epit.* 1.13.2; Forni (1953) 170–240) is particularly relevant in the current context: cf. esp. Enn. *Ann.* 456 Sk. *quem nemo ferro potuit superare nec auro* (with Skutsch (1985) ad loc.). Apart from the references given above, Curius appears in a paradigmatic context again at 10.151 f. *pone duces priscos et nomina pauperis aevi | Fabricios Curiosque graues.*

170 *longa sub ignotis...rura colonis*: a pointed and morally charged antithesis to those previous owners, the *noti* par excellence Camillus and Curius (Getty, WB, Gagliardi) and one given force by the juxtaposition of *longa* and *sub ignotis*: these moral exemplars used to cultivate small holdings, now massive estates are run by nonentities (Anderson (1916) 100). But *ignotis* is also (Housman) an indication of the tenant farmers' status as *aduenae* (Housman; cf. *OLD* 1b 'unfamiliar'): cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1.157; Man. 3.4; Sen. *Dial.* 9.8.5; Col. 1.7.3; Coleman (1977) on Verg. *Ecl.* 9.4. *sub* denotes authority or supervision (*OLD* 15a).

171 *is*: Getty, WB, and Gagliardi are correct in that *BC* deploys the pronoun infrequently (6x, *contra* Getty, following Lejay's 3x), but they mislead in their assessment of its general frequency, since (though its use in Augustan poetry may be rare) its presence in

epic is comparatively routine: Enn. *Ann.* 2x; Verg. *A.* 67x; Ov. *Met.* 94x; V. Fl. 26x; Stat. *Theb.* 33x; *Achil.* 1x; Sil. 65x. For forms of the pronoun in poetry: Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.101 with references.

pax...iuuaret: cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.2.50 *pax iuuat et media pace repertus amor.*

171–2 pax tranquilla... | sua libertas: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.113 *pax est tranquilla libertas.*

172 quem sua libertas: cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.15.9 on the Paeligni in the Social War [*gens*] | *quam sua libertas ad honesta coegerat arma.*

173–82 inde...hinc...hinc...hinc: the structure of this section influenced the organization of Flor. *Epit.* 1.47 *unde enim populus Romanus a tribunis agros et cibaria flagitaret, nisi per famem quam luxus fecerat? hinc ergo Gracchana prima et secunda et illa tertia Apuleiana seditio. unde iudiciariis legibus diuolsus a senatu eques, nisi ex auaritia...? hinc Drusus et promissa ciuitas Latio et per hoc arma sociorum;* so too Tac. *Ann.* 3.27 (Lintott (1971) 496 f.).

173 inde irae faciles: cf. Juv. 1.168.

173–4 quod suasisset egestas, | uile nefas: the juxtaposition of *egestas* and *uile* allows for the play of various nuances conveyed by the application of the adjective to *nefas*, both moral (*OLD* 4 ‘considered of little account or importance’) and financial (*OLD* 1 ‘costing little, cheap’). The easy motivation afforded by *egestas* is repeatedly articulated by Sallust in relation to the associates of Catiline: *Cat.* 14.3, 20.15, 37.3.

174 magnumque decus: a variation on the common *altum decus* (Tarrant (1976) on Sen. *Ag.* 395a).

175 plus patria potuisse: note the ascending, triple alliteration of ‘p’. The same notion is expressed in less condensed language at Cic. *Fam.* 7.3.5 *plus quemquam posse quam uniuersam rem publicam.*

175–6 mensuraque iuris | uis erat: *BC* again draws upon Sallustian formulations of moral degeneracy at *Hist. fr.* 1.18 *ut omne ius in uiribus esset.* After Lucan, cf. Silius’ personification, *Fides*, on the

mores of the world she had abandoned at 2.504 *uis colitur, iurisque locum sibi uindicat ensis*.

176 leges et plebis scita coactae: at 277 the tribune Curio speaks in similarly prosaic terminology of the period *postquam leges bello siluere coactae*; the verb agrees with *leges* but applies to both nouns (cf. LHS 433 f.) and means ‘brought about by force’ (OLD 13).

177 cum consulibus...tribuni: both Haskins and WB take these magistracies as metonymy for the *optimates* and *populares* respectively.

turbantes iura tribuni: Curio first comes to mind, since at the beginning of his death notice at 4.799–801 the narrator asks him *quid nunc rostra tibi prosunt turbata forumque | unde tribunicia plebeius signifer arce | arma dabas populis?*

178 rapti fasces pretio: *fasces* is concrete for abstract (OLD 3b: ‘the power or office of a magistrate’); cf. e.g. Lucr. 3.996; Verg. G. 2.495. *pretium* here means bribery (OLD 10; ASL; Verg. A. 6.622 *fixit leges pretio atque refixit*). The collocation *rapti fasces* is also taken up, although within a more specific context, by Petronius’ poetaster, Eumolpus at 119.45 f. *tristior ille est, | qui uicit, fascesque pudet rapuisse Catoni*. *fasces petere* is the usual idiom for seeking office legally (Fantham on 2.130).

178–9 sectorque fauoris | ipse sui populus: *sector* here means, broadly, ‘one who sells’, rather than ‘one who buys’. Getty’s interpretation of a metonymic reference to the *praeco* at an auction seems to be the most satisfactory explanation, although ASL suggest the scope of the term could stretch to both functions: *uenditor, unde qui proscriptorum bona uendunt uel emunt, sectores appellantur* (cf. OLD 2).

180 annua uenali referens certamina Campo: a golden line concludes the political effect of the cessation of *mores*. The theme of venal elections is also treated at Petr. 119.41 f. *uenalis populus, uenalis curia patrum, | est fauor in pretio*.

181 usura uorax auidumque...fenus: note the chiasmus of adjectives and personified abstract nouns. These are presented not as phenomena subject to human abuse but as forces unto themselves.

usura is 'a sum of money paid for the use of money' (*OLD* 2). *fenus* is a debt that carries interest (*OLD* 2). Adjectives terminating in *-ax* are formed from verbs, indicate tendency, and are often pejorative (Knox (1995) on *Ov. Ep.* 2.116). *uorax* is used only here and at 2.664.

avidumque in tempora fenus: 'interest greedy for its time'. *BC* personifies one of the endemic social problems of the late republic. Its *tempus* was the Kalends of each month, when it was paid; see *Hor. Epod.* 2.67–70 on the *faenator* Alfius; *Hor. S.* 1.3.87–9.

182 concussa fides: at 119 the death of Julia brought about *discussa fides* between Pompey and Caesar in the personal sense 'loyalty, allegiance' (*OLD* 8); here the collocation is reused in the more specific (and endemic), financial sense of the word: 'credit, good name; esp. financial credit' (*OLD* 5).

multis utile bellum: restated and illustrated by Brutus at 2.251–5. *Suet. Jul.* 27.2 puts the notion that civil war would be in the interest of the absolutely destitute into the mouth of Caesar.

bellum: the word frames the section on public causes of the war: cf. 158 *belli*. Moreover, the proem concludes where it began, with the a restatement of its *propositio* (1 n.).

183–227 CAESAR AT THE RUBICON

Caesar, having crossed the Alps, meets with an image of *patria* and crosses the Rubicon.

The opening sequence of narrative proper (183–227) yields a basic structure of four units, each roughly equal in length (viz. 12, 9, 9, and 15 lines). Lines 183–94 establish the circumstances informing the scene at the Rubicon (183–5), introduce and describe the image of *patria* (186–90), and contain her brief speech (190–2) as well as Caesar's initial reaction to it (192–4). Caesar's prayer (195–203) comprises the second unit. His (first) crossing of the Rubicon (204 f.) and the simile of the lion that accompanies this action (205–12) then follow. Finally, the ecphrasis of the Rubicon in spate (213–19), the second description of Caesar crossing the river

(220–2), and his affirmation of civil war (223–7) complete the passage.

The thematic, poetic, and political implications of the opening passage of narrative proper have been brilliantly expounded by Masters 1–10. The epic opens with insistent emphasis upon boundaries and their transgression by Caesar: at 183 proem and poem, Gaul and Italy, the Alps; at 185 the Rubicon; at 186 *patria* reinforcing the boundary of the stream physically at 186–190 and in her appeal to Caesar to go no further at 190–2; at 204 f. the now swelling Rubicon; 220–2 the Rubicon for the second time. The sequence is indicative of an overarching poetic strategy of Lucan, who continually imposes delays upon his chief protagonist in an attempt to retard the progress of his subject matter. The same informs the two accounts of the breaking dawn at 231–4 and 261–4. A necessary correlative to this ‘anti-Caesarian’ stance, however, is the poet’s narration of Caesar’s irresistible victory. These two voices at work within the poem are the fundamental basis for Masters’ thesis of a text at war with itself.

183 iam... Caesar cursu superaueat Alpes: from the very first word of the narrative proper, the lightning-like speed of Caesar (cf. 143–57) is in evidence. He is already in motion, and has *already* (*iam*) crossed the Alps when *BC*’s narrative catches up with him there. *cursu* further compounds this impression of his speed, which Cicero repeatedly mentions in his letters: *Att.* 7.22.1, 8.13.1, 7.20.1. From the outset of the poem, Caesar’s actions in book one are also likened to the invasion of Italy by Hannibal in 218 through this focus upon the crossing of the Alps (restated by Pompey at 2.535 f.) and in *BC*’s use of language that had been used of Hannibal in Livy (e.g. 21.38.2, 21.41.15, 21.58.3, 23.45.3; cf. *Sil.* 4.748, 16.635); at 303–5, Caesar will also compare his invasion to Hannibal’s (cf. Masters 5 n. 12 on the metapoetical effect of Caesar’s crossing of the Alps as the poet himself crosses the boundary into narrative from proem).

The verb *superare* is virtually the prerogative of Caesar in *BC*, since he is, save for one instance (4.715, and there by implication) the only human protagonist who ‘overcomes’ in *BC* (here, 223, 3.84 (cf. also 3.299 *super euolat Alpe*), 4.150 *iubet superare*, 5.503 *sperat superare*). For *superare* in the sense of surmounting mountains:

Verg. A. 2.302 f., 6.676, 11.513 f; Austin (1977) on Verg. A. 6.676. For *cursu superare*, cf. Ov. *Tr.* 1.11.5 (Getty and WB); add from a different context Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.51. After BC: Hyg. *Fab.* 185.1.2; *Ilias* 735.

iam: often resumes epic narratives (Ov. *Met.* 3.1, 7.1, 8.1, 14.1; Luc. 2.1, 8.1); here it commences the narrative proper.

gelidas . . . Alpes: again at 2.535; cf. [Tib.] 3.7.109.

184–5 ingentisque animo motus bellumque futurum | ceperat: just as Ovid's Jupiter enters the *Metamorphoses* at 1.166 *ingentes animo et dignas Ioue concipit iras* (Feeney 296). The notion that Lucan's *motus* and *bellum* represent variations on the same theme (Getty) does little justice to the sequence articulated here of sedition (*OLD motus* 9a) followed by war. For the close coupling of these concepts in verse (but again, not necessarily implying synonymous status) see Cic. *Cons.* 27 (on the portents heralding Catiline) *terribiles formae bellum motusque monebant*. Caesar as Catiline is an association hinted at in the *publica semina* surrounding the war at 158–82; perhaps also in the precedent of *patria's* apparition at Cic. *Cat.* 1.18, and made explicit by Pompey at 2.541–3 (with Fantham ad loc.). *bellumque futurum* is perhaps a glance at Verg. A. 9.642 f. *bella | . . . uentura* in Apollo's injunction against Ascanius (Thompson and Bruère (1968) 6). *ceperat* is simple for compound (*conceperat*; Getty, WB): cf. Verg. G. 1.420–2; for other collocations of *capere* and its compounds with *motus*: Verg. A. 4.297 *excipere*; Ov. *Tr.* 3.5.32; Grat. 275; perhaps Man. 1.816 for *ingentis motus* in this sense.

185–92 The apparition of *patria* before Caesar. Feeney 270 f. sees this scene as a reflection of Lucan's early flirtation ('before his norms have had space to delineate themselves') with the idea of anthropomorphic gods appearing within his narrative. Significant in this respect is the use of language that helps blur the distinction (here and at 3.9–12) between dream visitation and waking vision: *ingens . . . imago; per obscuram . . . noctem; maestissima; effundere*; cf. Verg. A. 2.270–80.

Both Plut. *Caes.* 32 and Suet. *Jul.* 32 record various apparitions that Caesar was said to have met before the Rubicon. Narducci (1980) takes the origin of Cass. Dio 55.1.3–5, on a visitation to the elder Germanicus, as a historical source for this scene. Fundamental is the appearance of Hector before the sleeping Aeneas at Verg.

A. 2.270–80 (with further details imported from A. 2.589–91 Venus to Aeneas; 2.772–4, 788 Creusa to Aeneas; 3.147–51 the Penates to Aeneas; 9.640–52 Apollo to Ascanius); also relevant the speech of *patria* to Catiline at Cic. *Cat.* 1.18. In both cases a figure representative of the nation confronts the hero at the outset of a national disaster and warns him away from the fatherland. The differences in these two passages are crucial to the understanding of Lucan's Caesar, who is himself bringing the crisis with him and who disobeys the injunction of the apparition.

185 uentum est: cf. Luc. 7.545. This use of *uenio* in the impersonal passive is a remnant of early Latin that survives as a kind of stock phrase and brings with it an archaic flavour to the present line. It is very frequently deployed in Livy (50x), and its use was intermittently favoured by Augustan and epic poets: Verg. *G.* 3.98; A. 6.45, 10.710, 12.739; Hor. *S.* 1.9.35, 2.6.33; Ov. *Fast.* 3.13, 3.651, 5.95; *Pont.* 4.7.43; V. Fl. 2.332; Stat. *Theb.* 2.65, 9.225; Sil. 4.75 (Fraenkel (1957) 115 f. n. 1; Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.710).

parui Rubiconis ad undas: the boundary of Italy and Cisalpine Gaul (Str. 5.10.227; Cic. *Phil.* 6.59; Plin. *Nat.* 3.115; Suet. *Jul.* 31.2; Serv. A. 1.1). *paruus* and *puniceus* (214) are the only epithets applied to the river. The former reflects the reality of the modern Pisciatello, if we accept its identity. The latter is a restatement of the popular etymology of its name (*Comm. Bern.*; *ASL*). Just prior to Pharsalus, Caesar restates the importance of his crossing in a line with an identical termination to the present one 7.254 f. *haec est illa dies, mihi quam Rubiconis ad undas | promissam memini*. Other than in Lucan, the Rubicon appears in verse only at Sil. 8.453.

186 ingens... imago: cf. Verg. A. 2.772–4 *infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae | uisa mihi ante oculos et nota maior imago. | obstipui, steteruntque comae et uox faucibus haesit*; Ov. *Fast.* 2.503: both the dead and divinities appear of superhuman size to mortals (Getty, WB, Gagliardi); add Cic. *N.D.* 1.120. The adjective is often used in threatening contexts (cf. Kenney (1996) on Ov. *Ep.* 16.45 f.; *TLL* 7.1.1540.60–74).

uisa... imago: the verb is the standard introductory formula for a supernatural apparition in epic, collocated with *imago* frequently: Enn. *Ann.* 38 Sk.; Verg. A. 2.773, 4.557, 5.636 f. 5.722; Ov. *Met.* 9.782;

Luc. 3.9 f. (Julia's apparition to Pompey); V. Fl. 2.206; Sil. 1.632 (the Saguntine appeal to the senate has connotations of a supernatural apparition), 17.162.

duci: 99 n.

patriae trepidantis: transfers the natural human response to a superhuman figure. This is the consistent response of persons and cities (as well as divinities, as here) who are in opposition to Caesar: here *patria* is *trepidans*; at 3.298 it is Rome; at 280, Curio characterizes the opposition to Caesar thus; at 5.530 the narrator implies that this is the natural response to Caesar's appearance; at 6.417, 7.186, and 9.25, the anonymous soldiers *trepidant* in anticipation and in the aftermath of Pharsalus. Caesar himself is only *trepidans* once, he declares before Pharsalus at 7.297 '*spe trepido*'.

187–9 Many of the details attributed to *patria* evoke the grieving mothers of book two: 23 *crine soluto*; 31 f. *laceras...comas*; 29 *maestae*; 39 *laniate comas*; these details reinforce the connection between private and public grief at Caesar's invasion. Moreover, elements of *patria*'s appearance are reused to introduce Cato (2.372 *nec...dimouit caesariem*; 2.375 *in frontem descendere canos*; 2.376 *maestam...barbam*), and help to establish the patriotism of Lucan's third protagonist.

187 **clara per obscuram...noctem:** not oxymoron (Gagliardi), but a reference to the luminosity of a supernatural figure which is found commonly: Verg. A. 2.588–90 *cum mihi se, non ante oculis tam clara, uidendam | obtulit et pura per noctem in luce refulsit | alma parens*; Ov. *Fast.* 3.27 f.; Stat. *Theb.* 5.135 f.

maestissima: alerts the reader to Verg. A. 2.270, the first occurrence of the superlative in Latin, where it describes the apparition of Hector to Aeneas on the night of Troy's destruction. Austin (1964) on Verg. A. 2.270 notes the relative preference of epic poets for its more prosaic synonym, *tristis*; but Lucan displays no aversion to the word (*maestus* 38x; *tristis* 32x).

uultu maestissima: used of Erichtho's corpse at 6.821.

188–9 **effundens...crines | caesarie lacera nudisque...lacertis:** probably adaptations of Hector's dishevelled state at Verg. A. 2.277 f. *squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crinis | uulneraque illa gerens*,

but ultimately all are common displays of mourning: cf. Hom. *Il.* 18.27, 22.77 f., 22.405 f., 24.710 f.; *Od.* 10.567; Verg. *A.* 9.478, 12.604–7; Sen. *Tro.* 83–116; Luc. 2.22–33, 7.38 f.; cf. Lucian *Luct.* 12 (Hopkins (1984) 219; Fantham on 2.24).

188 A golden line (40 n.).

turrigero...uertice: crenellated crowns are generally the iconographic preserve of individual cities in the plastic arts, but from the early second century AD, *Italia* appears with this attribute on coins and (most probably) upon the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum (Brilliant (1964) 116; Hassel (1966) 9 f.; Fittschen (1972) 746; Rotili (1972) 98; *LIMC* 5.1.806–10 nos. 13, 14, 16, 18). Perhaps Thompson and Bruère (1968) 6 are correct in adducing the description of Cybele at Verg. *A.* 6.785 *turrita*. On Lucan's use of compound adjectives see 48 n.

canos...crines: a pathetic detail that often appears within scenes of grief and suffering: e.g. Catul. 64.350; Ov. *Met.* 13.427; Stat. *Theb.* 9.163, 11.583; Sil. 6.560, 13.311 f.

189 **caesarie:** probably variation on 188 *crinis*; clearly a pun on the popular etymology of the name Caesar (cf. Maltby (1991) 93; Michalopoulos (2001) 46).

lacera...lacertis: note the alliterative repetition effected by the combination. On Lucan's use of *lacerus* for the perfect passive participle see Fantham on 2.31.

nudisque...lacertis: both *Comm. Bern.* (*nudato pectore*) and Sil. 2.668 f. *liuentia planctu | pectora nudatis ostendens saeua lacertis* connect this detail with breast-beating; cf. Luc. 2.24, 7.38 f. The noun is more poetic in register than *bracchium*; Lucan favours it throughout *BC* (*lacertus* 24x; *bracchium* 9x).

190 **gemitu permixta loqui:** pointedly recalls Vergil's Hector at *A.* 2.288 *sed grauius gemitus imo de pectore ducens*; cf. also Lucr. 6.1159; B. *Hisp.* 31.6; Sall. *Iug.* 60.2; [Sen.] *Oct.* 373f.; Sil. 12.597.

190–2 **quo... | quo...si... | si:** anaphora helps to underscore the indignant tone of the first direct speech of the epic. It is significant that *Italia's* speech is addressed not to Caesar alone but to the collective forces (*uiri*; Feeney 292), since later in the epic, the narrator will also address Caesar's troops in order to encourage or applaud

their dissent from Caesar (4.180–8, 5.297–9). Within the speech, two of the thematic concerns established in the *propositio* (17) are also revisited: the transgression of boundaries (*ultra; huc usque*; cf. 1 n. *plus quam*); and the definition of *ius* (*si iure uenitis*; cf. 2).

190 quo tenditis: Lucan draws upon the vocabulary, anaphora, and rhythm of Verg. *A.* 9.781. Characteristically, *BC* inverts the Vergilian context of Mnestheus' speech to those Trojans fleeing before the onslaught of Turnus. In the *Aeneid*, the emphasis is upon remaining to fight for the sake of the *patria* (9.786), in *BC* it is upon abstaining from fighting for the sake of the *patria*. The intertextual relationship between the two speeches also helps to identify the threat posed by Caesar with that of Turnus at Verg. *A.* 9.781–87:

‘quo deinde fugam, quo tenditis?’ inquit.
‘quos alios muros, quaeue ultra moenia habetis?
unus homo et uestris, o ciues, undique saeptus
aggeribus tantas strages impune per urbem
ediderit? iuuenum primos tot miserit Orco?
non infelicis patriae ueterumque deorum
et magni Aeneae, segnes, miseretque pudetque?’

mea signa: *mea* is emphatic (Haskins, WB). Italia lays authoritative claim to standards which are appropriated in turn by each of the protagonists throughout the epic: 2.592 (Pompey), 5.349 (Caesar), 9.281 (Cato).

191–2 si iure uenitis, | si ciues, huc usque licet: Gagliardi (on 183–227) is astute to point to the political implications of commencing the narrative of the epic at the crossing of the Rubicon without covering the events leading up to that moment (Caes. *Civ.* 1.1–7). Here is an especially clear exposition of the criminality of Caesar's actions put into the mouth of an authoritative judge and in direct contrast to Caesar's own emphasis upon senatorial inflexibility (Caes. *Civ.* 1.1.1, 1.2.6, 1.3.3, 1.4.1), the coercion of neutral parties into opposition against him (Caes. *Civ.* 1.2.6, 1.3.1, 1.3.5), and the violation of tribunician rights (Caes. *Civ.* 1.5.1 f., 1.7.2–5). It provides further evidence to discount the notion of a change of

tone from books one to three to books four to ten (cf. Fantham 1–3; cf. *Intro.* §1(c)).

191 iure: perhaps from Apollo's speech to Ascanius at Verg. *A.* 9.642 (Thompson and Bruère (1968) 6).

192 huc usque: the equivalent of *hactenus*.

192–3 perculit horror | membra ducis: a standard response to a supernatural visitation (or news thereof): Pl. *Am.* 1118; Verg. *A.* 3.30; V. Fl. 6.481; Sil. 6.170. Cf. also Sen. *Med.* 926, *Ep.* 74.33; Sil. 9.122. Cf. also Liv. 21.46.7 *is pauor perculit Romanos*.

193 membra ducis: collocated in this *sedes* again at 3.9.

riguere comae: first at Ov. *Met.* 3.100. After here at Stat. *Theb.* 5.238; cf. Sil. 3.541 *rigidaeque comae*. Hair standing on end is commonly found as a response to the supernatural: e.g. Verg. *A.* 2.774, 3.48, 4.280, 12.868; Ov. *Met.* 7.63, 3.100; *Fast.* 1.97, 3.332; *Ep.* 16.67.

193–4 gressum que coercens | languor in extrema tenuit uestigia ripa: Caesar appears to be self-conscious of this momentary halt to his progress at 2.496–8. Lucan seems to have coined the phrase *gressum coercens* on the analogy of Verg. *A.* 6.389 *comprime gressum* (Getty).

194 languor: here in the sense of 'irresolution' (Haskins) or perhaps 'indecision', an offshoot of 'lack of keenness, inertness, apathy' (*OLD* 4a), but imparting none of the moral or critical overtones of this definition.

tenuit uestigia: cf. 2.248 (by Brutus, of Cato) in the sense 'hold one's footsteps steady'; cf. Verg. *A.* 5.332. Here it is 'to hold one's footsteps altogether', i.e. 'to stop the advance of someone', a use borrowed from Ov. *Met.* 5.198. For *uestigia* as 'feet' (cf. ἵχθῳς): Cat. 64.162; Bömer (1969–86) on Ov. *Met.* 1.536; Dodds (1960) on Eur. *Bacch.* 1134.

195–203 Grimal (1970) 56–9 establishes that Caesar's prayer is anachronistic, in that the deities invoked by Caesar are tutelary divinities of Rome which were especially characteristic of the Julio-Claudian emperors (196, 197, 198, 199 nn.). Caesar is in this way made to portray himself as prefiguring the political and religious system that his victory will help to bring about (Grimal (1970) 59). Feeney 293–5

builds upon Grimal's discussion and links this first utterance of Caesar to the closing prayer of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* at 15.861–70. The consequence of reading this prayer against its Ovidian forerunner is to underscore further Caesar's anticipation of Augustan and Julio-Claudian Rome: 'the action of Lucan's poem is the beginning of the process whose perfection is marked by Ovid' (Feeney 293; see *Introd.* §4(c)).

It is also instructive to consider this first prayer of Caesar's with the one uttered at Troy at 9.990–9. Here the general calls upon the gods of the Julio-Claudian future to show favour to his undertaking (200 *faue coeptis*), there—in similar language and structure—he will most explicitly appropriate the shared tradition of Rome's foundation to himself and his own family (9.995–7 *gentis Iuleae uestris clarissimus aris | dat pia tura nepos et uos in sede priore | rite uocat*) (Feeney 294).

Helzle's (1994) stylistic analysis of Caesar's speeches throughout BC has drawn attention to the manner in which Caesar's rhetoric is made to comply with his characterization. In this first prayer we observe examples of military words and words that 'denote violence, its perpetrators, violent action or its effect' (tabled by Helzle (1994) 125–8, 130–2) which are monopolized by Caesar in comparison with the other two major protagonists, including *moenia* (Caesar: 5x in 360 lines of direct speech; Pompey: 1x in 300 lines; nowhere in Cato's 150 lines of direct speech), *rapti* (8: 0: 1), *armis* (18: 9: 4), *miles* (11: 3: 5), and *hostem* (8: 3: 1).

195–200 Caesar's prayer consists of two groups of three parallel divinities: Jupiter, both as *Tonans* (195 f.) and as *Latiaris* (198); the penates (196 f.) and the closely associated hearth of Vesta (199); Quirinus (197) and Roma herself (199 f.). Galàn Vioque (2002) on *Mart.* 7.12.9–12 provides evidence for the convention of a tricolon arrangement in oaths and solemn invocations.

195 **mox ait**: Lucan tends to avoid elaborate *formulae* for introducing speeches and prefers single words, such as *ait* (here, 225, 274, 300, 642), *exclamat* (359, 631) *dixit* (5.654), *inquit* (5.521), *fatur* (3.90) (Hunink (1992) on *Luc.* 3.13).

magnae moenia . . . urbis: the walls of Rome are a natural point of focus in poetry (e.g. *Tib.* 2.5.24; *Verg. A.* 2.294 f., 3.160 f.; *Ov. Met.*

14.775, *Fast.* 2.133; *Sil.* 11.583). Here Caesar's mention of them takes on extra significance from his intention to march against the city.

196 Tarpeia de rupe Tonans: the Temple of Jupiter *Tonans* on the Capitol was established by Augustus in 22 BC (*Suet. Aug.* 29.3; *Plin. Nat.* 34.78, 36.50), apparently close to the Tarpeian Rock (*Var. L.* 5.41), and was frequented by him in preference to the temple of Jupiter *Optimus Maximus* (*Suet. Aug.* 91.2). Here the topographical epithet evokes an historical paradigm of treachery. At 3.154, Caesar plunders the same temple. For its appearance in poetry before and after Lucan, cf. *Prop.* 4.1a.2; *Ov. Fast.* 6.33 f.; *Pont.* 2.2.42; *Mart.* 7.60.1 f., 9.86.7, 13.74.1; *Sil.* 4.548, 5.635, 6.713, 17.654.

196–7 Phrygiique penates | gentis Iuleae: cf. *Verg. A.* 3.148; *Luc.* 9.990 f. At 9.995 Caesar reiterates his claim to Aeneas' lineage. *gentis Iuleae* commences a line at *Ov. Pont.* 1.1.45.

197 rapti secreta Quirini: cf. *Liv.* 1.16.2 *sublimem raptum*. For the apotheosis of Romulus: *Liv.* 1.16 with Ogilvie (1965) ad loc.; *Ov. Fast.* 2.475–512. Feeney 293 calls Caesar's cultivation of Quirinus 'a blueprint for his own apotheosis': in 45 BC the senate placed a statue of the dictator within the Temple of Quirinus, inscribed (in Dio's transliteration) *Θεῶ ἀνικήτω* (*Cass. Dio* 43.45.3). The same temple was apparently burned in 49 BC (*Cass. Dio* 41.14.3) and was rededicated by Augustus in 16 BC (Richardson (1992) 326 f.). There is no need to suppose hypallage (WB 'toi, Quirinus, mystérieusement ravi', Gagliardi) if *secreta* is 'mystic rites' (*OLD* 4b).

198 residens celsa Latiaris Iuppiter Alba: *Latiaris* is the name by which Jupiter was worshipped in the *feriae Latinae* on Mons Alba and underscores a personal connection shared by the god and Caesar through Iulus, the founder of both the Julian line and Alba Longa (*Verg. A.* 1.267–71; Grimal (1970) 57). *celsus* is an archaic poeticism (*Enn. Ann.* 408, 538 Sk.; Harrison (1991) on *Verg. A.* 10.261).

199 Vestalesque foci: poetic plural. Feeney 215 summarizes the Augustan appropriation of the cult of Vesta in 12 BC, plainly stated at Ovid at *Fast.* 3.415–28, 4.943–54; *Met.* 14.865.

summique o numinis instar: cf. *Ov. Am.* 3.11b.47; *Met.* 14.124 (Aeneas to the Sibyl); *Priap.* 86.21 (inspiring or inheriting *summi*

here). At 8.263 Pompey adapts the context and formula to his own purposes, and addresses his troops as *comites bellique fugaeque | atque instar patriae*. After Lucan: Mart. 7.12.11; Stat. *Theb.* 10.361; Sil. 13.623 (Scipio to his mother) (cf. Galán Vioque (2002) on Mart. 7.12.11). The origin of the noun *instar* is dubious (*TLL* 7.1.1968.41–4), but it seems to derive from an equivalence in concrete terms of weight or mass, perhaps then arising from *in* + *stare* (Wölfflin (1885) 2.596 f.; Puhvel (1958) 290–2 disagrees); it is only found in the nominative and accusative case.

200 Roma, faue coeptis: at 8.322, Pompey is made to utter an identical formula in his (equally monstrous: 8.327–455) undertaking of seeking Parthian assistance against Caesar. This is a variation on the prayer formula *ades / adsis coeptis* as at Verg. *G.* 1.40, *A.* 9.625 (*adnue*), 10.461; Ov. *Ars* 1.30 (cf. Bömer (1969–86) on Ov. *Met.* 1.2). The collocation *fauere coeptis* is first found at Ov. *Rem.* 704; then *Prec. Ter.* 23; Sen. *Phaed.* 412; after Lucan: Stat. *Theb.* 5.134.

200–1 non te furialibus armis | persequor: the narrator of the poem repeatedly challenges this assertion by his application of the verb *furere* to Caesar: 115 f., 2.439, 2.557, 7.797 (155 n.). *furialis* qualifies *arma* first at Ov. *Met.* 6.591 (of the accoutrements of Bacchants); after Lucan: Stat. *Theb.* 11.90 (Capaneus' blasphemous challenge to Jupiter).

201 en, adsum uictor terraque marique: *en adsum* is a formula usually reserved for the opening line of a speech (as at Ov. *Ars* 1.555; *Met.* 5.10; Apul. *Met.* 11.5) and, in verse, always in this *sedes*. Caesar's opening formula is redolent of an epiphany, a first-person response to the kletic formula *ades / adsis*; *adsum* is used by Allecto and Bacchus to announce their presence at Verg. *Aen.* 7.454 and Ov. *Ars* 1.555 respectively (Cowan (2007)). Here it marks the climax of Caesar's prayer and underscores the first articulation of Caesar's self-definition in *BC*. Caesar will return to the Lucretian formula *terraque marique* (Lucr. 3.837, 5.219, 6.678) at 306. For the particular currency of the phrase as an Augustan and Neronian formula justifying the closing of the temple of Janus (Aug. *Anc.* 13; Liv. 1.19.3; Suet. *Aug.* 22; *BMCoins, Rom. Emp.* 1.229–31), see Momigliano (1942) 63 f.: Caesar bringing war as self-declared *uictor terraque marique*

is a bitter inversion of Augustan rhetoric concerning the securing of universal peace (*cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax*).

en, comparatively rare in Lucan (11x; cf. Verg. *A.* 17x; Ov. *Met.* 16x; V. Fl. 18x; Stat. *Theb.* 21x; Sil. 38x), usually marks a physical gesture of some kind: 'where it does not indicate physical objects it calls attention to situations which can be visualised, and does so in dialogue' (Tarrant (1976) on Sen. Ag. 5; Fantham on 2.556).

202 **Caesar**: of the main protagonists of the poem, only Cato does not habitually refer to himself in the third person (Caesar: 15x; Pompey: 18x; Cato: 0x): on grandiloquent self-naming see Austin (1977) on Verg. *Aen.* 6.510; Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.73 with references.

liceat modo: for the parenthesis, cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.38 f. (Getty, WB); add Pl. *Per.* 374; Cic. *Fam.* 9.16.9, 16.23.1; Ov. *Ep.* 18.51; *Pont.* 1.8.51.

ubique tuus (liceat modo, nunc quoque) miles: Getty's translation, 'now in any place whatever I am your (loyal) soldier as well, if I am but permitted', takes the clause *nunc quoque* with *tuus miles*, an interpretation reflected in his editorial decision to terminate the parenthesis after *modo*. But Caesar is not hoping now to become *patria's miles* 'now as well' (as being other things): at this stage he has been her *miles* for the last ten years in Gaul. The clause *nunc quoque* is to be taken closely with *liceat modo* to express the hope of *continuation* in his status as *patria's miles* in the new conditions of civil war. Braund reflects this nuance more accurately, 'your own soldier everywhere, now too if I am permitted'.

tuus . . . miles: as opposed to 203 *nocens . . . hostem*; the antithesis is concisely stated at Ov. *Tr.* 2.1.49. By casting himself as the miles of *patria*, Caesar frames the two opposing camps in the conflict as Pompey on the one hand and *patria* on the other (cf. *B. Hisp.* 17.1.3).

nunc quoque) miles: 103 n.

203 **ille erit ille nocens**: anaphora marks the emotional climax of Caesar's speech. At 9.449, the same formula (*ille nocens*) is used to describe the effect of Auster on the Libyan mainland. It is found first at Ov. *Am.* 1.7.33; after Lucan: Stat. *Theb.* 11.380 (on the treachery of

Eteocles); *Silv.* 1.1.14 (on the Trojan Horse). The future tense of *erit* contains the crux of Caesar's logic, for by defeating Pompey he will impose guilt upon him: a vivid illustration of 175 f. *mensuraque iuris | uis erat*, a complete reversal of Tantalus' logic at *Sen. Thy.* 20 *iam nostra subit | e stirpe turba quae suum uincat genus | ac me innocentem faciat*. This question of guilt, its mutability, and the actual and perceived redemptive power of victory is one of the enduring concerns of the poem (2 n. *ius datum scelerī*).

qui me tibi fecerit hostem: to be the *hostis* of *patria* is, by definition, to be a state enemy (*OLD* 2b). The speech of the unfortunate Idas at *Ov. Met.* 5.94 may be of relevance to Caesar's conception of his being transformed into a *hostis* by an external agent.

204 moras soluit: Lucan breaks from the usual verb coupled with *moram* / *moras* in epic, *rumpere* (which Lucan favours at 264, 2.525, 4.762, 6.217). For *soluere moras*, cf. *Sen. Tro.* 1126 f. (Getty); add *Sen. Tro.* 246. *TLL* 8.1470.28–47 lists the usual verbs governing *moras*. Notable for its absence here or anywhere in this scene is any variant of the apophthegm *alea iacta est*, as at *Petr.* 122, line 174; *Suet. Jul.* 33.1; *Plut. Caes.* 32.8.

tumidumque per amnem: when we first encounter the Rubicon in this scene she is *paruus* (185), now she is *tumidus*, a condition explained at 217–19. Masters 2 sees this as a narrative device that obstructs the progress of his protagonist, 'a last ditch attempt to oppose the *ingentis motus* when the *ingens imago* has failed'. At 4.133 Caesar again negotiates an *amnis tumidus*, the Sicoris, in Spain. In this detail of the river, there may be something of Achilles' struggling to battle against the swelling Xanthus at *Il.* 21.233–382 esp. 233–6. Caesar's easy crossing of swollen rivers throughout *BC* stands in contrast to the Homeric hero's efforts and perhaps refutes Homer's explanation for Achilles' failure to withstand the Xanthus at *Il.* 21.264 *θεοὶ δέ τε φέρτεροι ἀνδρῶν*. *amnis tumidus* is not found before in epic and again only at *Sil.* 10.207.

amnem: Lucan prefers *amnis* (36x) to *flumen* (20x) and *fluuius* (17x); Vergil and Ovid favour *flumen* (Austin (1964) on Verg. *A.* 2.496). Flavian epic follows Lucan's choice.

205 signa tulit propere: cf. Cato at 9.761. *propere* again underscores the dominant characteristic of Lucan's Caesar (151–7 n.).

205–12 The simile of the lion. This passage operates within a tradition of epic similes wherein a lion is confronted by an opponent (e.g. a hunter or a shepherd) and has greater wrath roused: cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.136–43, 20.164–73; Verg. *A.* 9.792–6, 12.4–9 (Albrecht (1999) 240 f.); after Lucan: V. Fl. 3.587–9.

205 *squalentibus aruis*: *squaleo* here is ‘(of land) to lie waste (from barrenness, neglect, etc.)’ (*OLD* 4). It is used repeatedly by Lucan of the physical environment of Libya: here, 5.39, 9.755, 9.939; cf. Mynors (1990) on Verg. *G.* 1.153 and 507 for some of the nuances of the word.

206 *aestiferae*: only here in *BC*, first at Lucr. 1.663 (cf. 48 n.).

uiso...hoste: a prose formula brought by Lucan into verse from Liv. 24.17.7, 28.7.9; after here: Sil. 4.58, 12.631, 14.139.

comminus: a military term derived from *cum manu*, but poetic since Enn. *trag.* 149 J.

207 *subsedit dubius*: Lucan incorporates this element of hesitation in the face of aggression from Verg. *A.* 9.792–7 *ceu saeuum turba leonem | cum telis premit infensis... | retro redit... | haud aliter retro dubius uestigia Turnus*.

colligit iram: so too Marius in Africa at 2.93. For the collocation: Lucr. 1.723; Hor. *Ars* 159 f.; Ov. *Ars* 2.456. After Lucan: V. Fl. 7.335; Stat. *Theb.* 12.759; Mart. *Sp.* 22.2; Sil. 9.477.

208 *ubi se saeuae stimulauit uerbere caudae*: a long-standing element within the tradition of the simile: Hom. *Il.* 20.170 f. *οὐρῇ δὲ πλευράς τε καὶ ἰσχία ἀμφοτέρωθεν | μαστίεται, ἐξ δ’ αὐτὸν ἐποτρύνει μαχέσασθαι*. For the lion’s action: Catul. 63.81; Plin. *Nat.* 8.49. For the phrase, Hor. *Serm.* 2.7.49 *turgentis uerbera caudae*.

209 *erexitque iubam*: cf. Sen. *Phaed.* 1037 on the sea beast that kills Hippolytus; and *Ilias* 502 *attollit...iubas* of a lion.

hiatu: used of the open mouths of wild animals (*OLD* 3a) at e.g. Lucr. 5.24; Sen. *Med.* 352.

uasto...hiatu: although Lucr. 5.375 has the phrase of the doors of death, it is typically used to describe the earth gaping (cf. *OLD hiatus* 2b) or of other natural phenomena (Verg. *A.* 6.237; V. Max. 5.6.2; Sen. *Dial.* 6.26.6; *Nat.* 6.9.2; Luc. 5.82; V. Fl. 4.595, 8.329; Sil. 9.540).

Building upon the application of *hiatus* to the jaws of animals (*OLD* 3) at Var. *R.* 2.9.4 and Lucr. 5.24, Manilius had used *uastus hiatus* in this context at 1.356 (a sea monster) and 5.206 (the Nemean lion). After here: Mart. 1.22.5 of an animal's jaws; V. Fl. 1.638 of the hole in a ship.

209–10 *et uasto graue murmur hiatu | infremuit*: also present within the tradition of this simile from the beginning, as at Hom. *Il.* 20.168 f.; cf. also Vergil's *Furor* at A. 1.296 *fremet horridus ore cruento*.

graue murmur... | *infremuit*: *infremere* is only here with a cognate accusative (*TLL* 7.1.1487.77–9). *murmur* is applied to lions at Ov. *Met.* 10.702; Sen. *Oed.* 922; *Phaed.* 350; V. Fl. 3.588; Sil. 2.687, 4.373; Mart. 8.55.1. *graue murmur* appears at *Aetna* 646 (of the volcano); Sen. *Ag.* 466 (of wind); *Thy.* 574 (of trumpet blasts); *Nat.* 2.27.1 (of thunder).

210–11 *torta...si lancea... | haereat aut...subeant uenabula pectus*: *hysteron proteron*. For the detail: Hom. *Il.* 20.167 f.

210 *torta...lancea*: the combination first appears in verse here and at 7.472, a variation on *torquere pilum*, imported from Sen. *Dial.* 5.23.1. After Lucan it is reused at Mart. *Sp.* 11.4; Sil. 1.318, 11.417.

leuis...lancea Mauri: the same ethnic distinction is repeated at V. Fl. 3.587 f. *leuis* is here 'equipped with light weapons, light-armed' (*ASL*; Haskins; *OLD* 4b), a description borne out in the fact that the *lancea* itself was a lightweight spear (cf. *OLD*). This last notion has led *Comm. Bern.* into the unnecessary assumption that the epithet has been transferred from the weapon to its wielder here; *leuis* is next associated with the Moors at Sil. 4.549, 10.604. The etymology of *lancea* is disputed (Varro *apud* Gell. 15.30.7: Spanish; Paul. Fest. p. 118: Greek (λόγχην); Plin. *Nat.* 7.201: Aetolian: *TLL* 7.2.917.11–14). It may have been chosen here as an appropriately archaic word within its alliterative phrase (Gell. 10.25.2 claims it is a word used in older historians); this early usage may likewise have influenced its use at Verg. *Aen.* 12.375.

211 *latum...uenabula pectus*: Martial adapts this line to describe a lion that was killed in the arena at 8.53.11 *grandia quam decuit latum uenabula pectus*.

212 **per ferrum tanti securus uulneris exit**: Servius compares the lion that represents Turnus at Verg. *A.* 12.8: *impavidus frangit telum et fremit ore cruento*; cf. also Sen. *Dial.* 5.2.6: [*barbari*] *gaudent feriri et instare ferro et tela corpore urgere et per suum uulnus exire*; perhaps also relevant, but within a different context, is Sen. *Nat.* 3.25.2. *securus* construed with the genitive is the standard construction for the meaning ‘indifferent, careless (of, as to)’ (*OLD* 4b). On the suicidal element within this image see 3 n.; Masters 2 n. 5; Leigh 217 f.

213–27 Caesar crosses the Rubicon.

213 **fonte cadit modico**: for *fonte cadere* see Hor. *Ars* 52 f. (on the introduction of Greek words).

parisque inpellitur undis: returns to and corrects the epithet applied to the river at 185; the collocation *parua unda* is reused at 9.500 f. To Ov. *Met.* 15.181 (Getty; WB), add from a different context Ov. *Met.* 15.511.

214 **puniceus Rubicon**: (185 n., 10 n.) Getty aptly draws attention here to the Vergilian habit of grouping Greek proper names with Latinate words that suggest their etymology; cf. *Comm. Bern.* and esp. O’Hara (1996).

canduit: to become or be hot, as at Ov. *Met.* 1.120.

215 **perque imas . . . ualles**: cf. the route of the river Ufens at Verg. *A.* 7.801 f.

serpit: like the Hister at Ov. *Tr.* 3.10.30.

215–16 **Gallica certus | limes ab Ausoniis disterminat arua colonis**: 185 n.

216 **limes**: used again in the restricted sense of the border between two provinces at 404 (again, a river), as at Ov. *Fast.* 2.683 (*TLL* 7.2.1414.71–1415.19).

ab Ausoniis disterminat . . . colonis: Lejay and Getty are mistaken to claim that this is the first instance of *disterminare* + abl.: Mela 1.101. For *Ausoniis . . . colonis* (here periphrasis for *Ausoniis*): Verg. *G.* 2.385.

217 **tum uires praebibat hiems**: winter again assists in the opposition to Caesar at 2.467 f. One thinks of the suggestion of Fantham on

2.620 that nature in *BC* may intermittently act with providential care for human safety.

auxerat undas: cf. Sen. Ag. 482.

218 **tertia... Cynthia:** 'the third day after the new moon' (*OLD luna* 2b); Getty (1936) 57.

grauido... cornu: Getty (1936) 58 would have this refer to the phenomenon of Earth shine ('a vivid picture of the new moon appearing to carry the old moon in her womb or bosom i.e. between her horns'). Haskins had rendered it 'surcharged with rain'. The latter is to be preferred. Getty's response is (somewhat typically) overly ingenious and does not properly incorporate *pluuialis* into the equation. Laying aside ancient familiarity with the phenomenon of Earth shine, it is unclear what end the inclusion of this detail would serve.

219 **madidis Euri... flatibus:** Eurus is generally associated with bad weather (*ASL*; Verg. G. 2.339 *hibernis... flatibus Euri*).

Alpes: not a geographical mistake (Getty), the poet knows where the Alps are (2.428 f.), but metonymy, as at Sil. 2.333.

220–2 Caesar provides a similar account of his own method of fording rivers at *Gal.* 7.45.4 *ad Ligerim uenit uadoque per equites inuento pro rei necessitate opportuno, ut braccia modo atque umeri ad sustinenda arma liberi ab aqua esse possent, disposito equitatu, qui uim fluminis refringeret, atque hostibus primo aspectu perturbatis, incolumem exercitum traduxit.*

220 **primus:** picked up by 221 *tum*.

in obliquum... opponitur amnem: that is, *oblique per amnem*; Housman compares Ov. *Met.* 5.132; Man. 1.606; Luc. 2.213; Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.66; *Theb.* 11.53. *oppono* is usually with a dative of indirect object (*OLD*).

sonipes: an archaism first used as a substantive at Cat. 63.41. It is at home within the higher genres, but is used much less frequently by Lucan's epic predecessors (Verg. 3x plus a collective singular at A. 11.600; not in Ovid). Lucan initiates its more liberal deployment (11x): V. Fl. 6x; Stat. *Theb.* 10x; Sil. 29x.

221 **excepturus aquas:** *excipio* is 'to sustain the force of (an attack, also the weather or sim.)' (*OLD* 11a; *TLL* 5.2.1255.24–61). The future participle expresses purpose, as at 2.332 f.

221–2 **molli...uado**: not prolepsis (Haskins), but the result of Caesar's actions at 220 f., as the temporal markers *primus*, *tum*, and *iam* indicate.

222 **faciles iam fracti fluminis undas**: note the alliteration and assonance of 'f' and 's'.

fracti fluminis: adapted at Sil. 12.186; Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.133 f.

223 **aduersam...ripam**: in verse this collocation is only in this *sedes*: Stat. *Theb.* 9.236; Sil. 6.165.

superato gurgite: a common construction in Livy for the crossing of rivers (e.g. 28.22, 28.33). For the verb and Caesar: 183 n. *gurgite* is poetic and usually occupies this *sedes* (but cf. 433) (Clausen (1994) on Verg. *Ecl.* 6.76).

224 **Hesperiae...aruis**: cf. Verg. *A.* 4.355 [*Ascanium*] *quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus aruis*. Bourguery suggested taking *Hesperiae* with *ripam*.

uetitis...aruis: as per *patria's* admonition at 190 f. *si iure uenitis, | si ciues, huc usque licet* (ASL; *Comm. Bern.*). This reiteration of the illegality of Caesar's action in entering Italy is of a piece with the ideological inclination of the epic as a whole (see Introd. §1(b–d)). Thompson and Bruère (1968) 7 see an allusion to the Penates at Verg. *A.* 3.171 *Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arua*, which 'points to the contrast between Aeneas' entry into Italy, which was in accordance with the divine will, and Caesar's unlawful crossing of the Rubicon, which was in direct contravention thereof'.

225 **hic...hic**: anaphora heightens the emotional intensity of Caesar's declaration (cf. 190 n.).

temerata iura: *Comm. Bern.* suggests that this refers to the breakdown of the triumvirate; Haskins, Getty, and WB all claim this is Caesar's take on the machinations of the senate and Pompeian party at Rome and by comparing lines 277–9 of this book (*pellimur e patriis*), make clear that they mean the expulsion of the tribunes from Rome on 7 January. Gagliardi was reluctant to identify the exact nature of these *temerata iura* but with good reason rejected a reference to the expulsion of the tribunes ('Cesare si duole d'esser vittima d'una violazione del diritto, ma non è possibile dire a che cosa in particolare intenda riferirsi. Certo non deve trattarsi né del S. C. *Ultimum* del 7 gennaio, né della

cacciata dei tribuni da Roma, in quanto—secondo Lucano—Cesare verrà a conoscenza di questi fatti soltanto a Rimini.’). From Caesar’s point of view, however, a likely explanation may be found in the stonewalling of the senatorial party at Rome in the period immediately preceding 7 January, described at e.g. *Caes. Civ.* 1.1.1, 2.6, 3.5, 5.1.

226 te, Fortuna, sequor: cf. 146–9; Venus at Verg. *A.* 10.48 f. *Aeneas sane ignotis iactetur in undis | et quacumque uiam dederit Fortuna sequatur*; and the words of Aeneas to Ascanius at *A.* 12.435 f. *disce, puer, uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem, | fortunam ex aliis* (Thompson and Bruère (1968) 9).

procul hinc iam foedera sunt: Caesar’s renunciation of peace assumes tones of solemn, almost religious, formality (Pease (1935) on Verg. *A.* 4.624; Austin (1955) on Verg. *A.* 4.624; Hollis (1977) on Ov. *Ars* 1.31; Kay (1985) on Mart. 11.6.6): the phrase recalls the pact of peace between Aeneas and Latinus at Verg. *A.* 12.202 f. *nulla dies pacem hanc Italiam nec foedera rumpet, | quo res cumque cadent*. For *foedera sunt* see Dido’s prayer for hatred between the Carthaginian and Roman races at Verg. *A.* 4.624 *nullus amor populis nec foedera sunt*.

227 credidimus paci: Getty (and Fraenkel (1926) 510 before him) rejected Housman’s emendation *credidimus satis his* on the basis that *credidimus fati* was unproblematic because the perfect tense here is gnomic as at Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.1. Housman had objected that *credidimus fati* gives too weak a transition from *procul hinc iam foedera sunt* (226) to *utendum est iudice bello*, and the usual idiom is *credere aliquid fati* (cf. *ASL*). Helzle (1991) and George (1988) 335 n. 10 argue for the manuscript on the basis that Lucan has established two sets of antitheses at 225–7, between *iura*, *foedera*, and *bellum* on the one hand, and *fatum* and *fortuna* on the other (cf. 33 n. for *fatum* and *fortuna*). Stephen Harrison suggests the present emendation, which replaces the unemphatic *his* and keeps the strength of the contrast with *bello*; the perfect is of completed action (as at e.g. Verg. *A.* 2.325 *fuimus Troes*).

utendum est iudice bello: cf. Cic. *Att.* 7.18.1 (at the outset of the civil war) *eas [mulieres nostrae] ego, quoad sciremus utrum turpi pace nobis an misero bello esset utendum, in Formiano esse uolui*. More pointed here is Turnus at *A.* 12.79 *nostro dirimamus sanguine bellum*.

As Helzle (1994) 126 has demonstrated, *bellum* is, appropriately enough, a favourite word of Lucan's Caesar, who uses it much more frequently than do the other major characters in the poem (29x; Pompey: 17x; Cato: 8x).

228–65 CAESAR AT ARIMINUM

Caesar captures Ariminum; the people of Ariminum lament their lot and submit in silence.

While Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon (183–227) acts as both a narrative and historical threshold to the civil war, his actions at Ariminum (228–391) on 11 January are important to *BC* as both the first strategic action of the war and as the beginning of the central narrative block of book one. Caesar's arrival here will pave the way for the structural and literal centrepiece of the book, the exchange of speeches between Curio, Caesar, and Laelius (266–391). As such, Caesar's capture of Ariminum is a significant episode within *BC*, and this is reflected in Lucan's expansive treatment of the event. Caesar reports it laconically at *Civ.* 1.8.1 *cognita militum uoluntate Ariminum cum ea legione proficiscitur, ibique tribunos plebis, qui ad eum confugerant, conuenit*. This scene is, in effect, a digression of 37 lines inserted between the words *proficiscitur* and *ibique*. The event is presented in a manner which clearly marks it out as a new beginning within the poem. This is most explicitly set out in the motif of the 'first day of evil' (233 f. *iamque dies primos belli uisura tumultus | exoritur*) applied to it by the narrator, but we may also interpret the statement 257 *hac iter est bellis* within a narrative as well as a geographic context. This imagery is compounded by the way in which Ariminum—the opening manoeuvre in the war—is linked by theme, vocabulary, and action with its climax, Pharsalus (235, 237–8, 251, 256–7 nn.). Independent of its foreshadowing of later events, the scene is artfully arranged and presented in a manner that continually underscores the internecine nature of Caesar's actions (it is at 233 *tumultus*; the *classica* are *non pia* at 238; the weapons of the people of Ariminum are quintessentially Roman at 242; the

aquilae and *signa* of Caesar are *notae* at 244). Throughout, an ominous atmosphere is privileged over action: two broad thematic structures emerge. In the first place, the scene progresses from burgeoning daylight (231–4), to darkness (234–61) that is broken only by the gleaming of Caesar's standards (244), to a return to daylight (261). As with light, so with sound: a clear progression from peace and quiet at Ariminum (the tense of *rupta quies* at 239 underscores the silence prior to the invasion) and throughout the world (249 f. *pax alta per omnes | et tranquilla quies*), gives way to the raucous din of Caesar's military *classica* at 237 f., which is followed by an adjec-tively insistent return to silence, but this time, the oppressive silence of subjugation (cf. 247 *tacito mutos uoluunt in pectore questus*; 257 *gemitu latenti*; 258 *non ausus timuisse palam*; 258 f. *uox nulla dolori | credita*; 259 *coercet*; 260 *silent, tacet sine murmure*; 261 *tanta quies*; Tac. Agr. 2.3).

228 sic fatus: Lucan is fond of this as a formula of transition from direct speech (17x, alternating with *sic fatur*: 9x); it is an imitation of Homeric ὡς φάμενος (Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.535–6). Its deployment in this use throughout the other epic poems is less frequent (Verg. A. 11x; Ov. Met. 2x; V. Fl. 6x; Stat. Theb. 10x; Sil. 4x).

noctis tenebris: used again at 6.624 of Erichtho's movements. Cf. Ov. Met. 10.476, 11.521 *caecaque nox premitur tenebris hiemisque suisque*; Man. 4.842. After Lucan: Sil. 13.131.

rapit agmina: a phrase from Liv. 3.23.3, 23.36.3, 25.35.1; Verg. A. 12.450; in the latter instance the intertextual reference equates Caesar with Turnus. Lucan uses the phrase of Caesar at 3.116, 3.229 (cf. 4.35, 4.717). After BC it is in epic at Stat. Theb. 3.578; Sil. 1.129, 7.116.

ductor: more poetic than the usual *dux* (Serv. A. 2.14 *sonantius est quam duces*), *ductor* is common in the Aeneid (23x), less so in BC (8x) (Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.186).

229 inpiger: in its application to individual characters in the poem, the adjective is used twice: here of Caesar and at 4.798 (again in enjambment) of Curio in Africa, *inpiger ad letum*.

et: Ω better than *it* (Getty, WB) on the strength of Verg. A. 5.319 and Lucan's own usage at 5.405, where *ocior* is accompanied by double clauses beginning with *et*.

229–30 **torto Balearis uerbere fundae** | **ocior**: *uerber* is ‘the thong of a sling’ (*OLD* 2). The *funda Balearis* was established as a standard point of comparison for both speed and distance at *Ov. Met.* 2.727, 4.709; cf. also *Verg. G.* 1.309 *torquentem Balearis uerbera fundae*, where the epithet is already decorative; cf. too *Stat. Theb.* 10.857; *Achil.* 2.134.

ocior: almost solely poetic before Lucan.

missa Parthi post terga sagitta: the phenomenon is a commonplace of early Augustan poetry: *Verg. G.* 3.31; *Hor. Carm.* 1.19.11 f., 2.13.17 f. In its structure and arrangement, the clause is redolent of Ovid (e.g. *Fast.* 5.591; *Met.* 9.127).

231 **uicinumque...inuadit Ariminum**: Ariminum (mod. Rimini) controlled access to Italy between the Apennines and the Adriatic sea: *Plb.* 3.61.11; *Liv.* 24.44; *Str.* 5.217. Caesar took the town on the morning of 11 January 49 (*Caes. Civ.* 1.8.1).

minax: used of Caesar here, at 6.285, and at 2.453 (where he is a *minax terror*); it is also used by Caesar of his own troops twice (4.164; 7.291). The adjective, poetic since *Enn. Ann.* 620 Sk., places Caesar in company which is largely hostile to the Roman state in *BC*: the gods (524), the veins of a victim of bad omen (621), Catiline (6.793), an eastern horde (7.515 f.). It is also used of the senate, Domitius, and the forces of Pompey when they confront Caesar or his forces (207, 2.509, 4.280).

Ariminum, et ignes: elision in the fifth foot, running over a sense pause, is extremely uncommon: see Soubrian (1966) 551 f.

231–2 **et ignes | solis Lucifero fugiebant astra relicto**: *et* is ‘when’ (Housman). *ignes* are the light of the sun (*OLD* 4a). Getty compares *Ov. Met.* 2.115 to this line; perhaps add *Sen. Apoc.* 4.1.25.

232 **Lucifero**: *φωσφόρος*: 48 n.

233 **iamque dies primos belli uisura tumultus**: the event is marked as ‘a first day of evil’, such as the coupling of Aeneas and Dido at *Verg. A.* 4.169 f *ille dies primus leti primusque malorum | causa fuit*. The future participle stands in for a relative clause.

belli...tumultus: *tumultus* is employed here in the special sense of a war within Italy (*Cic. Phil.* 8.2–4; Austin (1977) on *Verg. A.* 6.857). *belli tumultus* recurs at 303, 6.53, and 10.425, but is not (Getty, WB)

Ovidian (*Ep.* 16.371): *Lucr.* 3.834. After *Lucan*, it reappears in epic at *Stat. Theb.* 1.280.

233–4 *dies ... | exoritur*: cf. *Verg. A.* 3.588 *iamque dies ... surgebat*. The collocation *dies exoritur* is only found here and at *Stat. Theb.* 5.296. The usual formula is *iamque dies aderat*: e.g. *Hor. S.* 1.5.20; *Verg. A.* 2.132.

234 *seu ... seu*: Housman's emendation to *sed* is unnecessary.

sponte deum: repeated as *sponte deorum* at 5.136 as a possible explanation for the silence of Parnassus. The alternative spelling for the genitive plural of *deus* only appears at the line end in Latin hexameter.

turbidus Auster: strictly, the south wind, but standing in for any breeze (*Serv. A.* 3.70; on the *Auster*: Zurli (1984) 105–10 esp. 109); for the epithet: *Hor. Carm.* 3.3.4 f.; *Verg. A.* 5.696 *turbidus imber aqua densisque nigerrimus Austris*. It is repeated in the same position at 498.

235 *maestam tenuerunt nubila lucem*: the same phenomenon will occur on the morning of the battle of Pharsalus at 7.4–6 [*Titan*] *defectusque pati uoluit raptaeque labores | lucis, et attraxit nubes, non pabula flammis | sed ne Thessalico purus luceret in orbe* (for which see Hübner (1976)). Here *BC* adopts the language of a Vergilian dawn breaking to describe this new suppression of morning light: cf. *Verg. G.* 1.445 f. (and *A.* 7.527 for the same grouping of nouns within a different context). *tenuerunt* is simple for compound (here *retinuerunt*), as at 283, 361.

236 *constitit ... iussus ... miles*: Caesar's army is given an anonymous collectivity. This use of the collective singular *miles* (*OLD miles* 1b) is a common feature of historiographical style (cf. e.g. *Liv.* 9.15.6, 21.11.3, 36.38.2).

237–8 *stridor lituum clangorque tubarum | ... concinuit cum rauco ... cornu*: the braying of these instruments also links Caesar's capture of Ariminum, the first movement in the war, with its climax at Pharsalus, where they are all sounded again together 7.475–7 (235 n.). It is a common tendency of Latin poets to group musical instruments in pairs (*Hor. Carm.* 1.1.23 f., 2.1.17 f.; *Ov. Met.* 1.98; *Sen. Thy.* 575 with Tarrant (1985) ad loc.); it is consistent with

Lucan's tendency towards cumulative effects that he increases the number to three. *stridor* is a high-pitched, shrill sound (*OLD*), *clangor* is usually associated with the trumpet, as here (*TLL* 3.1262.68–84; *OLD* 2a); *raucus* a standard epithet of the *cornu* and its sound (Lucr. 2.619; Catul. 64.263; Prop. 3.341; Verg. *A.* 7.615, 8.2; V.Fl. 6.92; Sil. 12.182). Of the instruments, the *lituus* and the *cornu* are both curved trumpets (*OLD lituus* 2; *OLD cornu* 4b), while the *tuba* consists of a straight tube (*OLD*): Ov. *Met.* 1.98 *non tuba derecti, non aeris cornua flexi*. Heavy alliteration of 'c' underscores the din.

clangorque tubarum: a Vergilian line ending: *A.* 2.313, 11.192.

238 non pia...classica: all modern commentators note that this is periphrasis for *impia* and refers to the *nefas* of civil war as at Verg. *G.* 1.511. The periphrasis reappears in epic at Stat. *Theb.* 11.751.

239 rupta quies: is brought into epic here from Sen. *Dial.* 10.20.5 *dum alter alterius quietem rumpit*, and is reused at Sen. *Her. O.* 646; V. Fl. 3.46; Stat. *Theb.* 2.125; Sil. 4.728, 15.548.

excita iuuentus: the collocation is Livian (8.11.2, 28.24.4, 30.7.12, 34.27.2). After here it appears at Sil. 8.569. *iuuentus* is not specifically 'young men', but 'men of military age' (Haskins; Hardie (1994) on Verg. *A.* 9.226). Lucan plays on two of the common contexts of *excitare*: to rouse from sleep (*OLD* 1b; *TLL* 5.2.1246.34–47) and to rouse to war (*OLD* 3; *TLL* 5.2.1246.50–82).

240 deripuit...arma: Silius reapplies the phrase to the context of Rome after the battle of Cannae at 10.599.

sacris adfixa penatibus arma: cf. Regulus at Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.18–21 'signa ego Punicis | adfixa delubris et arma | militibus sine caede' dixit | 'derepta uidi...?'

adfixa penatibus: from Ov. *Ep.* 9.89.

241 quae pax longa dabat: Getty's proposition that *dabat* means 'had been ruining' is unnecessary and unconvincing (cf. Fordyce (1940) 96: 'how [could] a language in which one could without warning use a verb meaning "provide" in the sense "destroy" survive...as a vehicle of human communication [?]'). A lengthy peace had afforded the people of Ariminum the condition of hanging their disused weapons upon the hearth.

nuda iam crate: the wickerwork frame of the shields (*OLD cratis* 1f) is showing.

241–2 clipeos...pila | ...enses: the number of weapons named affords symmetry with the number of Caesar's military instruments at lines 237 f.

fluentes | ...clipeos: used in the sense 'to dissolve, decay, fall to pieces' (*OLD fluo* 5c; *TLL* 6.1.972.34–55), as at 3.507, 6.536, and 9.773.

242 inuadunt: 'to seize possession of, to lay hands on' (*OLD* 5c; *TLL* 7.2.113–14.60); note the *constructio ad sensum* with the singular subject at 239 *iuuentus*.

curuataque cuspidē pila: the first mention of the *pilum* since its programmatic introduction at 7 draws attention to the internecine nature of the war. For the form (but not the meaning) of the line cf. *Ov. Met.* 2.199 (Getty, WB); after *Lucan: Sil.* 5.214–16.

243 et scabros nigrae morsu robiginis enses: *nigrae...robiginis* look forward to the contrasting brilliance of Caesar's eagles in the next line. Again, the civil war is underscored by reference to (and adaptation of) a *locus classicus* of civil war literature, Verg. *G.* 1.495 *exesa inueniet scabra robigine pila*. For these effects of rust: *Catul.* 68.151; *Ov. Fast.* 1.687; *Plin. Nat.* 16.21. The prosaic *gladius* for 'sword' is usually passed over in favour of *ensis* in poetry (Axelson (1945) 51); *Lucan* has a fairly even distribution: *gladius* 45x, *ensis* 54x (cf. Verg. *A. gladius* 4x, *ensis* 64x).

244–7 Note the elaborate rhetorical arrangement of cause and effect, whereby what the people of Ariminum see (244 f.) and the fear it instils in them (246 f.) are both arranged in consecutive triple clauses (the second, a tricolon crescendo) that culminate in a golden line (245, 247).

244 ut notae fulsere aquilae Romanaque signa: *aquilae* and *signa* appear grouped only under Caesar's command: at 477, rumour cites them in its announcement of his invasion of Italy; at 3.330, they are the concluding detail of the Massilians' prayer; the fact that the *aquilae* and *signa* are *notae* to the people of Ariminum has moral point: it further emphasizes the internecine nature of Caesar's act.

fulsere aquilae: the eagles glitter because they are silver, a detail that effects a brilliant visual contrast to the gloomy setting (cf. 235; NH on Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.19 with references).

245 celsus medio conspectus in agmine Caesar: the line has an elevated register: cf. Verg. *A.* 8.587 f. *ipse agmine Pallas | it medio chlamyde et pictis conspectus in armis*. *celsus* is standard diction in this context for 'on horseback' (*OLD* 2c; and cf. esp. Stat. *Theb.* 8.563); for its poetic register: Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.261 f.

246 deriguere metu, gelidos pauor occupat artus: the appearance of Caesar is as terrifying to the people of Ariminum as was the supernatural vision of *patria* to Caesar at 192 f. *tum perculit horror | membra ducis, rigure comae*. The tense of *deriguere* is the perfect of instantaneous effect, as at 8.60; 9.289 (Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.60).

deriguere metu: from Ov. *Met.* 7.115; the effect is confined to the hair at Ov. *Fast.* 1.97.

gelidos pauor occupat artus: *pauor occupat* (*animos*) is Livian (e.g. 5.38.5), imported into verse at Ov. *Met.* 12.135. Lucan restricts the sphere of its application to the limbs by combining it with the Vergilian line ending (*G.* 4.190; *A.* 7.446, 11.424). Valerius Flaccus further restricts the effects of *pauor* to the face and ears at 4.664.

gelidos...artus: to be preferred (with Housman) to Ω *gelidus pauor* (despite Sen. *Her. F.* 414; *Oed.* 659) because of 4.153 and 9.56.

247 et tacito mutos uoluunt in pectore questus: a golden line. Silence is a defining characteristic of peoples subjected by Caesar. In this, the people of Ariminum foreshadow the response of Rome (2.20 f., 3.80 f.; Fantham on Luc. 2.20 f.) as much as they do the theme within the Flavian epics (McGuire (1997) esp. 230–48). Silius adapts the line at 11.309.

tacito...pectore: cf. Ov. *Ars* 1.110; *Ep.* 13.89, 21.210. After Lucan: [Sen.] *Oct.* 350; V. Fl. 4.4; Stat. *Theb.* 2.410, 2.481; Sil. 11.309.

uoluunt in pectore: used again at 272, 8.621 (first at Lucr. 6.34; cf. Verg. *A.* 7.254) the alternative verb *uertere* is also found in the idiom at 7.765.

248–57 The inner thoughts of the people of Ariminum.

248 o male uicinis ... condita: cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 9.28 *Mantua uae miserae nimium uicina Cremonae*. Getty's contention that *male* may be taken by amphibole with *uicinis* (i.e. 'dangerously') and *condita* (i.e. 'unfortunately') is unnecessary. Besides, *male condita* is attested at Hor. *Serm.* 2.8.69; *male uicinus* is unattested. For *o male* at the start of an interjection: 87 n.

moenia condita: only here and at Sil. 15.162.

249 o tristi damnata loco: anaphora heightens the pathos of the opening interjection; Gagliardi compares the formula *ὦ ... ὦ* from Greek Tragedy; Enn. *Ann.* 108 Sk.; Verg. *A.* 2.241 f.

249–50 pax alta ... | et tranquilla quies: note the chiasmus of adjectives and nouns. *pax alta* is a frequent collocation of Senecan drama (*Her. F.* 929; *Tro.* 324, 326; *Ag.* 596; *Thy.* 576: all nominative); after Lucan, it appears in the same position at Stat. *Theb.* 8.625 and (in a different position and case) *Ach.* 1.807 f. Likewise, *tranquilla quies* is only found elsewhere at Sen. *Her. F.* 160; *Tro.* 995.

250 furentum: restates one of Caesar's enduring qualities in *BC* (155 n.).

251 primaque castra: also begins line 4.587.

melius, Fortuna, dedisses: i.e. *melius fecisses si dedisses tueri*. Direct apostrophes to *Fortuna* are common in *BC* (226, 251, 2.72, 230, 548, 699, 4.497, 5.668, 6.787, 7.110, 250, 440, 666, 8.427, 600, 686, 730, 743, 9.55, 213), but this one most closely foreshadows the narrator's impassioned appeal after the battle of Pharsalus at 7.645 f. *post proelia natis | si dominum, Fortuna, dabas, et bella dedisses*, again providing a structural connection in *BC* between the taking of Ariminum and the military climax of the war.

252–3 gelidaque ... errantesque: i.e. *gelidaue ... errantesue*. –*que* is separative (*OLD* 7).

252 orbe sub Eoo: periphrasis for 'east': Ov. *Fast.* 3.466, 5.557; *Pont.* 4.9.112.

sub Arcto: likewise, 'north': Hor. *Carm.* 1.26.3. Its utility as a line ending ensured its endurance in epic: Stat. *Theb.* 3.287, 4.384, V. Fl. 5.317, 6.140. *gelidus* is, naturally, the stock epithet of *Arctos*: Verg.

A. 6.16; Ov. *Met.* 4.625; Man. 3.344; V. Fl. 5.155, 6.140; Stat. *Theb.* 6.422; *Silv.* 3.5.19, 5.1.127; Sil. 15.227.

253 errantes que domos: Lucan's coinage for nomadic movements; it is adapted at Sil. 3.291 *errantes...penates* (of the Gaetulians). *errare* is used in the sense 'nomadic' again at 3.267 and 7.429, and stands in opposition to *sedes* in the previous line.

Latii...claustra: (231 n.) Getty compares Liv. 9.32 [*Sutrium*,] *quae urbs socia Romanis uelut claustra Etruriae erat, ingens*.

254–7 The people of Ariminum illustrate their complaint by a list of historical *exempla*, capped by a *sententia*.

254 Senonum motus: the *Senones* were a Gallic tribe who settled the Adriatic coast between Ariminum and Ancona in the early fourth century BC. They were reputedly the tribe who led the sack of Rome in 390 BC (Liv. 5.34 f.).

Cimbrumque ruentem: the Cimbri were the Germanic tribe defeated at Vercellae in northern Italy by Gaius Marius and Q. Lutatius Catulus in 101 BC. The reading of *G ruentem*, is to be preferred to *Q furentem* under the influence of lines 250 and 255 (*contra* Heitland (1895) 149).

255 Martem Libyes: the Punic war, by twofold metonymy. The reference is to Hasdrubal, who in 207 BC brought his army into northern Italy from Gaul and was defeated by C. Claudius Nero and M. Livius Salinator at the Metaurus.

255–6 cursumque furoris | Teutonici: they are *furor* personified (for *cursum furem Teutonum*). The Teutones were a Germanic tribe defeated by Marius at Aquae Sextiae in Transalpine Gaul in 102 BC, and therefore, not a tribe that the people of Ariminum will have seen; but they were, along with the Cimbri, regarded by Roman writers as the quintessential northern savage. Getty and WB cite Ov. *Rem.* 119 for *cursum furoris*.

256–7 quotiens Romam Fortuna lacessit | hac iter est bellis: for *quotiens lacessit*. Sen. *Dial.* 5.24.1. *Roma* and *Fortuna* are paired as object and subject of the same verb again at 7.24; after Lucan, the pair will be kept but their cases are swapped: Petr. 120, line 78; Sil. 12.61 f.

For *hac iter est*: Verg. *A.* 6.542, 9.321; Ov. *Met.* 1.170; after Lucan: Sil. 1.389, 12.194. For *iter bellis* after Lucan: Stat. *Theb.* 4.688 f.

257 *gemitu sic quisque latenti: sc. timet.*

258 *non ausus timuisse palam*: the reaction of the people of Ariminum foreshadows the only safe response at the war's conclusion; cf. also the women of Lesbos at 8.64 f. *non ultra gemitus tacitos incessere fatum | permisere sibi*. The Roman *matronae* will explain this paradox at 2.40–2 *nunc flere potestas, | dum pendet fortuna ducum; cum uicerit alter, | gaudendum est*. The collocation *palam timere* is found again at Sen. *Her O.* 1261. For the topos of silent complaint against the tyrant: Aesch. *Ag.* 449; Sen. *Suas.* 6.4; [Sen.] *Oct.* 511 f.; Stat. *Theb.* 1.169; Tac. *Ann.* 13.16.7 (Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.64).

258–9 *uox nulla dolori | credita*: 'no voice was entrusted to their grief', i.e. no one dared give open expression to their grief.

259–61 *quantum... | mediusque... | tanta*: there are two independent points of comparison: the fields that are quiet when winter has checked the chirping of birds, and mid sea: the passivity of the comparanda underscores the contrast between victim and perpetrator at Ariminum, between imposition and compliance (Hübner (1972) 583 n. 6). Vocabulary and details are adapted from Verg. *A.* 4.522–7; cf. also V. Fl. 3.359–61.

259 *uolucres*: the second syllable is short here and at 601, long at 558. For the detail within the simile cf. Verg. *A.* 4.525–7 *cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque uolucres | ... | somno positae sub nocte silenti*.

uolucres cum bruma coercet: some elements are reused at Stat. *Theb.* 8.616.

260 *rura... pontus*: the line is bookended by antitheses (Hübner (1972) 577–600; Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.36; Harrison (1991) 288–90 for further examples). The whole line is very close in form to *Epic. Drusi* 185.

mediusque tacet... pontus: cf. V. Fl. 2.584 *ubi iam medii tenuere silentia ponti* (Housman).

sine murmure: Ovidian (*Ep.* 21.1, *Met.* 5.587) but only here of the Ocean. After here: Sil. 12.540.

261 noctis gelidas lux soluerat umbras: cf. Verg. *A.* 11.210 *tertia lux gelidam caelo dimouerat umbram* (Getty, WB, Gagliardi); close variants are found after Lucan at Stat. *Theb.* 10.390; V. Fl. 3.1, 5.606. Verg. *A.* 11.210 is also the earliest extant source for the natural collocation *gelida umbra* (here, 2.585 and 3.401 in *BC*); afterwards it is only in poetry: Ov. *Met.* 8.496; Man. 3.283; Calp. *Ecl.* 3.16; Col. 10.1.1.379; V. Fl. 3.1. This is the second account of the same sunrise (cf. 231–4) on the first day of the war: as with the Rubicon, Caesar is made to transgress the boundary twice (Masters 3 f.).

262 ecce: marks a new dramatic development, as at 627; in Roman drama it draws attention to the appearance of a new character (Lodge (1901–33) 1.447; Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.133).

262–4 faces... | ...addunt stimulos... | rumpunt fata moras: the accumulation of metaphors (noted by Haskins) is typical of Lucan's style.

dubiae... menti: Lucan's Caesar is still hesitant, as at 192–4 despite his rhetoric at 225–7. This hesitation may obliquely reflect Caesar's own account of his attempts to negotiate with Pompey while at Ariminum (Caes. *Civ.* 1.9.1–6). In Caesar's commentary, he is apparently fully resolved upon war only at 1.11.3 f. Nevertheless, this hesitation has ramifications in *BC* for the culpability of *fata*, *Fortuna*, and Curio alike who all presently urge him to war at 262–5 and 273–91.

in proelia... | urgentes: neither to be taken with *dubiae* (Lejay) since the construction for the former is with the preposition *ad*, nor is it an ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction whereby *in proelia* is taken with both *dubiae* and *urgent*es (Getty). For the phrase: Plin. *Nat.* 9.13.

263 addunt stimulos: the language is Senecan (*Med.* 833; *Ben.* 1.15.1; *Dial.* 4.14.1; *Ep.* 34.2), although a similar phrase appears at Verg. *A.* 9.717 f. After Lucan: Quint. *Inst.* 10.7.16; Stat. *Theb.* 10.629; Tac. *Agr.* 5.4.

264 rumpunt... moras: also at 2.525, 6.217 and an enduring phrase of especially epic poetry, but occasionally found in other genres: Verg. *G.* 3.43; *A.* 4.569, 9.13; Ov. *Met.* 15.583; Sen. *Phaed.* 1102;

Med. 54; *Tro.* 681; *Calp. Ecl.* 1.31; *V. Fl.* 1.305, 4.627, 6.127, 7.33; *Sil.* 8.215; *Mart.* 2.64.9; *Plin. Ep.* 5.10.2.

fata . . . Fortuna: 33 n.

264–5 **iustos Fortuna laborat | esse ducis motus:** *laborare* + inf. is rare (only *Var. R.* 3.17.1, *Sen. Ep.* 124.1 before here: *TLL* 7.2.802.17–25). Silius adopts both the expression and the unusual construction at 15.640 *Latio Fortuna laborat | aduersis documenta dare atque ostendere*. For *motus*, here oxymoronically paired with *iustus*, see 184 n.

265 **causas inuenit armis:** apparently the first example of *causa* + dat. (despite *TLL* 3.679.67 claiming *Tac. Hist.* 4.19).

266–95 CURIO'S SPEECH

Curio, having left Rome for Caesar, meets with his general and urges him to war.

Lucan's Curio

The relevant facts of C. Scribonius Curio's career are worth summarizing. Throughout the 50s he had risen to prominence through his open attacks upon the triumvirs and was elected tribune for 50 on the basis of his hostility to Caesar. However, in February of that year Curio ended his attacks upon Caesar and began to speak on behalf of the proconsul (*Cic. Fam.* 8.6.5; 2.13.3; *Att.* 6.3.4). A tradition of a massive bribe from Caesar quickly gained currency to account for his volte-face (269 n.). Throughout his tribunate, Curio worked to retard the drift to war between the two remaining triumvirs, but went north to join Caesar's camp at the termination of his office (*App. B Civ.* 2.31). Throughout the war he served Caesar in Italy; Sicily, which he occupied *pro praetore*; and Africa, where after some initial success against the Pompeian general P. Attius Varus, he was defeated and killed by Juba (see 269 n., 270–1 n., 317 n.; Lacey (1961); Gruen, *LGRR* esp. 470–97).

The allegation of bribery is almost definitely false (Lacey (1961) 318 f.), but in Lucan it frames his appearances within the epic: at 270 (the first mention of his name) he is *audax uenali* . . . *Curio lingua*, at 4.824 (the last line of his death notice) we are told *emere omnes, hic uendidit urbem*. In *BC*, Curio is a kind of synecdochic representation of his age: a man whose talents could have elevated him to greatness, but whose moral degeneration—endemic to his generation—proves to be a kind of tragic flaw. In the case of Curio, the loss to the state is crucial because of his key position and unexpected political realignment in the year 50. This notion is brought out explicitly in his ‘eulogy’ at 4.814–20:

haut alium tanta ciuem tulit indole Roma
aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti;
perdita tunc urbi nocuerunt saecula, postquam
ambitus et luxus et opum metuenda facultas
transuerso mentem dubiam torrente tulerunt,
momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum
Gallorum captus spoliis et Caesaris auro.

We will already have been prepared for this scathing assessment by adumbrations in the proem at 158–82 esp. 175 f., 180, as well as by his introduction here at 268–71, where his audacity (269, 270) and venality (269) establish his character and prepare us both for the speech to follow and his actions in book four (Ahl 88–115).

Curio's speech

Curio's exhortation of Caesar is the first of two direct speeches allowed him in *BC*. We hear him again at 4.702–10 in a blunt meditation upon the galvanizing effects of battle on the ideological reservations of his soldiers. By contrast, his present speech is a trenchant and carefully couched exposition of *Realpolitik* to Caesar, and one designed to divest him of any reservations about his undertaking (cf. 272). Two separate historical occasions within December 50 and January 49 have been conflated for this speech. On the first occasion, 9 December 49, Appian records that Curio travelled to Caesar at Ravenna where Caesar thanked him for his services and

reviewed his options; Curio advised gathering the whole of his forces together and to make for Rome (*B Civ.* 2.5.32 *Κουρίωνι μὲν δὴ συγκαλεῖν ἐδόκει τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα ἤδη καὶ ἄγειν ἐπὶ Πρώμης*). Cass. Dio 41.4.1 records that Caesar summoned Curio and others to Ariminum (i.e. after 11 January 50) to relate to his soldiers what had transpired at Rome (*τὰ πραχθέντα διηγῆσασθαι*) and that Caesar made a speech to the same effect (*ἐπειπὼν ὅσα ὁ καιρὸς ἀπῆτει*). Lucan displaces the former speech on to the second occasion, after Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon, in order to include it within his narrative.

In Lucan's hands, Curio's argument is surgical in its precision and gains force from frequent paradox and *sententiae*: we are explicitly told of its efficacy at 293 f. He commences by reminding Caesar of his own past constitutional services in the face of an obstinate senate (273–6), with the legality of his own position and the opposition he faced underscored in key vocabulary at 273 *uoce*; 274 *nolente senatu*; 276 *ius erat, Quirites*. Two points inhere: the exhaustion of constitutional avenues for Caesar and his own personal service in this endeavour. This latter issue is then developed at 277–9: Caesar's political supporters are now exiles for their efforts on his behalf, but if he will pursue the war, his victory will return them to their former legal status; the moral is driven home in a double paradox of 'willing exile' and of victory 'making citizens'. Curio now directly exhorts Caesar to war with one of the enduring *sententiae* of the poem (280 f.; 281 n.), an appeal to the strategic sense of a first strike. Next (283–5) is invoked a kind of logic of relative returns by contrasting the time invested in achieving victory in Gaul and its significance with the brevity and potential stakes in the civil war. From here, Caesar's lack of alternatives is emphasized in lurid terms (288 *liuor edax tibi cuncta negat*) and paradox (288 f. *gentesque subactas | uix impune feres*), and by Curio's reminder of the threat of legal prosecution awaiting him at Rome. Finally (289–91) Curio turns to Pompey, and to the notion that Caesar will be removed from power if he remains inactive. The speech concludes with a final paradox that underscores the dissolution of Caesar's relationship with Pompey and his diminished options: 290 f. *partiri non potes orbem, | solus habere potes*.

266–7 **expulit...tribunos...curia**: not quite: on 7 January, the tribunes M. Antonius and Q. Cassius Longinus fled the senate to Caesar after the passing of the *senatus consultum ultimum* (Caes. *Civ.* 1.5.5; Cic. *Fam.* 16.11.2; Liv. *per.* 109; Plut. *Ant.* 5.4; Caes. 31.2; Suet. *Jul.* 30.1; App. *B Civ.* 2.33; Cass. Dio. 41.3.2 f.).

ancipiti...urbe: reflects the division of the city into two factions, as at 2.448; adopted at V. Fl. 3.46. In its etymology, *ambi-ceps* (< *caput*), denotes the political reality with almost literal precision.

discordes...tribunos: i.e. Caesarian. On 1 January, the tribunes had read out Caesar's last ostensible attempt at compromise in the senate, only for the consul Lentulus to refuse to put it to discussion (Caes. *Civ.* 1.1 f.). They in turn vetoed the motion of Scipio that Caesar be deemed a public enemy unless he relinquish his army by a fixed date (Caes. *Civ.* 1.2.6 f.).

267 **uicto iure**: 'with their rights overthrown', referring to the sacrosanctity of the tribune, which had not, in point of fact, been violated in this case, but the coupling together of Caesar's tribunes and the Gracchi works to imply the impression of their violent ejection by the senate.

minax...curia: 231 n.

268 **iam mota...uicinaque signa**: narrative focalization now lies at Rome with the tribunes setting out. In Caesar's chronology the tribunes set out while he is still at Ravenna, and meet him at Ariminum after he has begun the invasion of Italy (Caes. *Civ.* 1.5.5, 8.1; cf. Suet. *Jul.* 33.1; Dio 41.4.1; *contra* App. *B Civ.* 2.33; Plut. *Caes.* 31, who have them meet Caesar at Ravenna). *uicina signa* is Senecan, and first applied in a civil war context at *Phoen.* 415; it reappears at Sil. 7.520.

269 Curio is introduced with a golden line.

uenali...lingua: the phrase is Livian (45.10.11). The sentiment is revisited in the devastating *sententia* that is Curio's epitaph at 4.824 *emere omnes, hic uendidit urbem* and is anticipated in the proem's causes of the war at 180 *annua uenali referens certamina Campo*. Each instance recalls and realizes Jugurtha's prophecy at Sall. *Jug.* 35.10 *urbem uenalem et mature perituram, si emptorem inuenerit*. For the tradition that in 50 Caesar bribed the hostile tribune Curio over to his cause: V. Max. 9.1.6; Vell. 2.48.4; Suet. *Jul.* 29.1; Plut.

Pomp. 58.1; *Caes.* 29.2 f.; *Ant.* 5.1; *App. B Civ.* 2.26; *Cass. Dio* 40.60.2; for modern doubts regarding the authenticity of this tradition: Lacey (1961); Gruen, *LGRR* 473 f., 477.

audax... Curio: used again of Curio at his reintroduction into the narrative at 4.583; the epithet was used of Curio before Lucan at *Vell.* 2.48.3.

270–1 uox quondam populi, libertatemque tueri | ausus et armatos plebi miscere potentes: a tricolon crescendo that refers to Curio's tribunate of 50, and underscores two aspects of his career. In the first place, it looks to his opposition to the triumvirate (*armatos... potentes*), most notably in his incendiary attacks upon their power in 59, but also throughout the 50s (*Cic. Att.* 2.18.1, 19.1, 24.2 f.; *Cael. Fam.* 8.10.3; *Suet. Jul.* 50.1). Curio was elected tribune despite opposition from both Pompey and Caesar (*Cael. Fam.* 8.4.2; Gruen, *LGRR* 471 f.) and his tribunate was expected to achieve the diminishment of Caesar's power (*Cael. Fam.* 8.10.3) or his outright recall (*Cael. Fam.* 8.4.2, 5.3). Secondly, we may see in these lines a reference to Curio's public plans or attempts to implement a wide-ranging programme of popular legislation as tribune in 50, including two separate land distribution bills (one in Campania: *Cael. Fam.* 8.10.4; Gruen, *LGRR* 472; one using Juba's land: *Caes. Civ.* 2.25; *Cass. Dio* 41.41.3), a *lex alimentaria* (*Cael. Fam.* 8.6.5), a luxury tax (*Cic. Att.* 6.1.25), and a programme of road building and repair (*Cael. Fam.* 8.6.5). For *miscere* in the sense of bringing two elements of disparate status to the one level, see *TLL* 8.1090.1–21. Lintott (1971) 497 sees in this last clause an oblique allusion to Curio's proposal that both dynasts give up their commands.

270 uox quondam populi: i.e. not just that he was tribune of the plebs but that he represented public opinion faithfully (*App. B Civ.* 2.27; *Plut. Caes.* 30.2; Lintott (1971) 497 n. 4).

libertatem que tueri: the 'pre-fall' Curio is eulogized in the same language Brutus applies to Cato at 2.282.

271 potentes: often of political figures opposed to *libertas* (Hunink (1992) on *Luc.* 3.57).

272 uoluentem pectore curas: these are the *curae armorum* Caesar dispels at 3.52 f. The phrase appears regularly with a variety of verbs:

Verg. A. 5.701 *uersare*; Verg. A. 1.227 *iactare*; Aetna 24 *moliri*. For *pectore uoluere* (here, 247, 8.621): Pl. *Capt.* 781 (*uolutare*); Sal. *Rep.* 2.7.6; Verg. A. 7.254; Liv. 35.18.7; Sil. 15.19. *curae* are in military contexts and in Latin epic generally an indication of the good general, but can also denote the solitary nature of the hero's mission, as at e.g. Verg. A. 10.217; see Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.159–60 with further references.

273–91 Curio's speech.

273–5 **dum uoce tuae potuere iuuari**, | **Caesar, ... partes, quamuis nolente senatu** | **traximus imperium**: Curio began speaking on Caesar's behalf in February of 50 by signalling his intention to block senatorial discussion regarding the termination of Caesar's command (Cael. *Fam.* 8.6.5). He did so in March (Cic. *Att.* 6.2.6) and again in either March or April: he vetoed Pompey's proposal that Caesar return in November and insisted upon Caesar being allowed to exercise candidacy for the consulship *in absentia* (Cael. *Fam.* 8.11.3). It was Curio who delivered Caesar's final message to the senate (Cic. *Fam.* 16.11.2; App. *B Civ.* 2.127; Cass. Dio 41.1.1). To Getty and WB, *traximus* is used only because *prorogare* is metrically intractable, but this technical term is not appropriate to describe Curio's services for Caesar in 50.

uoce ... iuuari: cf. 270 *uox quondam populi*.

275–6 **tum cum mihi rostra tenere** | **ius erat et dubios in te transferre Quirites**: the tribunes began to address people in the forum directly from the mid-second century. The *rostra* is revisited at the beginning of BC's epitaph for Curio at 4.799–801 *quid nunc rostra tibi prosunt turbata forumque* | *unde tribunicia plebeius signifer arce* | *arma dabas populis*? The phrase *in te* goes with *transferre*, not *dubios* (Getty): see 262 n.

277 **leges bello siluere coactae**: just as they will be when Caesar enters Rome at 5.31; cf. Cic. *Mil.* 11.1 *silent enim leges inter arma*. Caesar will return to this context at 319–23. For *leges coactae*, see 176 n.

278 **pellimur e patriis laribus**: Antonius and Cassius were told that their safety could not be assured if they remained in Rome after 7 January. Curio was not driven from the city (266 n.; Caes. *Civ.* 1.5; Cic. *Fam.* 16.11.2; Cass. Dio 41.3.2 f., App. *B Civ.* 2.33).

278–9 **patimurque uolentes | exsilium**: enjambment reveals the punchline. *uolentes* does not refer to voluntary exile, but underlines a typically Lucanian paradox, that Caesar's supporters are happy even to be in exile if it means that he will restore them (so *ASL*, Haskins, Getty). The following clause provides the key to understanding this notion. Adverbial *uolens* (cf. (ἐ)θέλω) is formulaic in Roman prayer and not irrelevant to the present context (Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.677–8). Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.209 is instructive on the shock value of the emotionally charged word *exsilium*.

279 **tua nos faciet uictoria ciues**: an illustration of the theme at 2 *ius datum sceleri*. Curio caps this stage of his argument with a *sententia* expressed in artfully arranged words (ABCAB). Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.230 draws attention to the pointed juxtaposition of *tua* and *nos*.

280 **dum trepidant**: a Vergilian line opening: *A.* 4.121, 9.418; cf. *Ov. Tr.* 9.13; *V. Fl.* 4.515.

nullo firmatae robore: recalls the narrator's assessment of Pompey as outlined in his introductory simile, and sardonically evokes the *robur* of his oak tree (142 n.). *firmare robore* is found again at 2.245 and 2.527 where it is also used of Pompey's troops; for this phrase: *Cic. Phil.* 10.16.7; *Ciris* 43; *Ilias* 681, 430.

281 **tolle moras**: a variant on the Vergilian *rumpe moras* (first at *G.* 3.43), found only here in *BC*, but not Ovidian (Getty, WB): *Prop.* 3.13.4 *pretio tollitur ipsa mora*; *Ov. Ep.* 4.147; *Met.* 13.556; *Sen. Phoen.* 458; after Lucan: *Quint. Inst.* 4.4.4.

semper nocuit differre paratis: *differre* is 'to postpone, defer, adjourn' (*OLD* 4). *paratis* is dative masculine. For the enduring popularity of this *sententia* in the post-classical period: Sanford (1934) 5 f. For *sententiae* in *BC*, see 32 n.; on four-word *sententiae*, see 81 n.

282 This line should be deleted. Housman's reasons for its excision are valid (*ac ne parem quidem laborem sed multo minorem futurum esse statim* 283–5 *confirmatur*); Getty's (lv, lvii) efforts to read it as *pari* ['not so much "equal" as no greater... i.e. "probably less"'], lv] *labore atque metu maius petitur* are not convincing: Fordyce (1940) 96; Mackay (1958) 186.

283 **bellantem geminis tenuit te Gallia lustris**: the ablative is used where the accusative of duration is expected, as happens occasionally

in Cicero (*de Orat.* 3.138) and Caesar (*Gal.* 1.26.5), and more frequently after Livy. This substitution is made possible by a finite verb in a tense of completed action, which blurs the distinction between duration and time within which (*NLS* #54; but cf. 300 n.). For Caesar's campaign in Gaul, see 122 n. Ovid has *duo lustra* at *Pont.* 4.16.14; after Lucan, Silius adopts *geminum lustrum* at 16.151. For the use of *tenere*, cf. 2.478 f. *at te Corfini... | tecta tenent*; contrast 420 and 2.393.

283–8 *tenuit te Gallia... | ... | ...tibi Roma subegerit... | ...te pompa... | excipit...poscunt Capitolia... | liuor edax tibi...*
negat: Curio frames the historical and political context of the civil war as a series of personified entities that interact with Caesar personally.

284 *pars quota terrarum*: looks forward to its antithesis, 285 *orbem*, and thereby frames Curio's desire—*si proelia... | gesseris*—between the former and future stakes of Caesar's generalship. *quotus* is 'bearing what proportion to the whole' and is often used rhetorically for 'how small' (*OLD* 1b; *Lucr.* 6.652; *Sen. Her. O.* 95 f.; Costa (1973) on *Sen. Med.* 896).

284–5 *facili... | ...euentu*: apparently a Lucanian coinage (Getty). *facilis* is 'favourable' (*OLD* 9), a usage normally applied to gods or winds.

285 *tibi Roma subegerit orbem*: WB notes that Caesar himself will reiterate the force of *tibi* here (i.e. *non sibi*) in sentiments of a similar vein when he declares at 5.343 *humanum paucis uiuit genus*.

286–91 Curio proceeds to the personal *inuidia* against Caesar at Rome.

286 **nunc**: marks the transition from the potential state of affairs outlined in the apodosis at 285 to the reality of the present political situation at Rome (cf. *OLD* 11a '(but) as things are now') (cf. 24 n.).

longi...pompa triumphi: the epithet is transferred from *pompas*. The phrase is Ovidian (*Pont.* 2.1.19 f., 3.4.95); after Lucan it is in epic at *Sil.* 8.673.

remeantem: Vergil introduced the word into epic; it is used of returning in triumph at 2.553, 3.73, 3.702, 5.237, 7.256; cf. e.g. *Verg. A.* 2.95, 11.793; *Ov. Met.* 15.480; *V. Fl.* 4.589; *Stat. Theb.* 12.164; *Sil.* 3.434; Austin (1964) on *Verg. A.* 2.95; Hunink (1992) on *Luc.* 3.73; Horsfall (2003) on *Verg. A.* 11.793.

286–7 **neque ... aut:** for *neque ... neque*: TLL 2.1568.4–11.

287 **sacras poscunt Capitolia laurus:** *Capitolia* is plural for metrical convenience, as often in Vergil (Austin (1977) on Verg. A. 6.836). A triumphing general was accompanied in his *quadriga* by a slave who held a laurel wreath over his head. This wreath was dedicated in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at the culmination of the procession: Ov. *Met.* 1.560 f.; Plin. *Nat.* 16.10. For the collocation *sacra ... laurus*: Verg. A. 3.81, 7.59; Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.18 f.; Tib. 2.5.63.

288 **liuor edax:** a remarkable characterization in this context, coined by Ovid and found only in the nominative: Ov. *Am.* 1.15.1; *Rem.* 389; Sen. *Phaed.* 493; after Lucan: Mart. 11.33.3. For the historical situation: Caes. *Civ.* 1.4.4; Suet. *Jul.* 30.5.

288–9 **gentesque subactas | uix inpune feres:** ‘you will hardly escape unpunished for subduing foreign nations’ (cf. *OLD fero* 37).

289–91 Curio concludes with two *sententiae*. The first (289 f.) absolves Caesar of the guilt of initiating the civil war by claiming that it was Pompey’s decision to thrust his father-in-law from power. The second (290 f.) contrasts this free choice of his opponent with the notion that Caesar now has no other option left to him but civil war.

289–90 **socerum depellere regno | decretum genero est:** the terms of kinship which so classically evoke this particular civil war (as at Cat. 29.24; Verg. A. 6.830–1) bookend the sentence, and are further emphasized by their position at the main caesuras of their respective lines and the pauses before and after each (cf. Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.84–5). In Curio’s equation, it is Pompey (*gener*) who has made the move, and this is presented in terms that highlight the kinship of the two men and Pompey’s betrayal of that bond (1 n. *plus quam ciuilia*; 118 n.).

regno: Curio saves for the conclusion of his speech a characterization of Pompey as a tyrant that will be echoed by Caesar at 315 f. and at the conclusion of his own speech at 350 f.

depellere ... | decretum ... | est: not Livian (Lejay, Getty): Pl. *Cist.* 648; *Aul.* 572; Enn. *Ann.* 583 Sk. and frequently afterwards.

290–1 **partiri non potes orbem | solus habere potes:** Curio’s argument ends in a striking *sententia*, adapted at Juv. 3.121 f. *qui gentis*

uitio numquam partitur amicum, | solus habet. Curio condenses Caesar's political position into antithetical alternatives—framed in the simplest language possible (*partiri orbem* or *solus habere*)—one of which has been foreclosed to Caesar: by Curio's formula (itself returning to the *causae* outlined in the proem at 109–11) civil war is Caesar's only option. On 'terminal *sententiae*' as a technique of declamation see Bonner (1966) 264–7.

290 *non potes orbem*: 103 n.

291 *sic post quam fatus*: for this formula in *BC* see 228 n.

291–2 *et ipsi | in bellum prono*: Hardie (1890) 13 argues that this corresponds with Hom. *Il.* 13.46, 16.555 *μεμαῶτε καὶ αὐτῷ* ('as eager as he was in himself, of his own will, Curio's words nevertheless gave his passion a fresh impulse'). Supply *quamuis*, corresponding to 292 *tamen*.

292–3 *tantum...addidit irae | accenditque ducem*: Curio compounds the work of *fata* at 262–4 and a fire metaphor is added to those accumulated to describe the removal of Caesar's reservations. For *tantum addidit irae*: Ov. *Met.* 3.306, 12.532; *Hal.* 56; after Lucan: Curt. 8.1.43; Tac. *Ann.* 16.32.

293 *accenditque ducem*: the noun is used to avoid an oblique case of the pronoun *is* (Housman; cf. Fantham on 2.75–8).

clamore iuuatur: Senecan: twice at *Dial.* 9.4.6; cf. also Tac. *Hist.* 4.46.

293–5 The simile of the Olympic racehorse. *BC* draws upon two Augustan illustrations of speed: Tib. 1.4.32 *prior Eleo est carcere missus equus* and Ov. *Ep.* 18.166 *ut celer Eleo carcere missus equus*. Both develop Enn. *Ann.* 80–3 Sk. *omnes auidi spectant ad carceris oras | quam mox emittat pictos e faucibus currus: | sic expectabat populus atque ore timebat | rebus utri magni uictoria sit data regni*. But, while the geographical epithet and the detail of the *carcer* are retained from the Augustan models, *BC* expands the simile to two-and-a-half lines, transfers the epithet from the gates to the horse itself—now rendered in epic register (*sonipes*)—and focuses instead upon the noise of the crowd and the adrenalin of the horse in the gates moments before

the race begins, as with the moment captured in the Ennian passage. It is an altogether more dynamic treatment of the theme and one which has multiple correspondences to the narrative: Curio—the *uox quondam populi* (270; cf. 271, 275 f.)—is equated with the anonymous crowd cheering on their horse, whose situation provides a concrete point of reference for the mindset of Caesar, now at the end of his indecision regarding the civil war (291 f.; cf. 192–4, 262–5) and about to burst open the gates of war (cf. Verg. A. 7.607–22). Also relevant is the simile at Verg. G. 1.511–14 *saeuit toto Mars impius orbe, | ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae, | addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens | fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas*.

293 quantum clamore iuuatur | Eleus sonipes: understand *tamen* to correspond with 294 *quamuis* (as at 291 f.).

294 Eleus sonipes: i.e. one competing in the horse race at the Olympic games (*OLD Eleus* 1b), not necessarily a horse bred in Elis, as Braund's translation implies.

294–5 iam ... | immineat foribus: there is no need (Getty) to interpret *iam* as 'has been for some time'; the adverb modifies *immineat* and indicates that the horse *already* presses forward to move out of the stables, i.e. in anticipation of the beginning of the race (see further Anderson (1916) 101).

carcere clauso: a *carcer* is a barrier at the beginning of a race track (*OLD* 3a). The line ending is reused at 4.237; the phrase has formerly been used of Aeolus' cave at Verg. A. 1.141.

295 pronusque repagula laxet: i.e. in the same manner as at Ov. *Tr.* 5.2.29 f. *utque fores nondum reserati carceris acer | nunc pede, nunc ipsa fronte lacessit equus* (Housman). Ov. *Met.* 2.153–5 ([*equi*] *pedibusque repagula pulsant*) requires neither the emendation of *pronusque* (to *pedibusque*, Hosius; Lejay; but cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.509 f. *pectore toto | pronus* with Anderson (1916) 101: it means 'pressing forward') nor *laxet* (to *pulsat*: Gagliardi). The clause corresponds to 291 f. *ipsi | in bellum prono*. There is a reprise of cosmic dissolution imagery in the phrase *repagula laxet* (cf. εἰρμός, ἀναλύω; 72–80; Masters 4; Lapidge (1979) 349).

296–351 CAESAR'S SPEECH

Caesar addresses his troops and urges them to war.

Despite the fact that Caesar's speech is made to follow so closely upon Curio's, the general does not respond directly to the ex-tribune, but now turns to the rank and file to exhort them to arms. This is not to say that Curio's rhetoric has had no effect upon Caesar. We are explicitly told as much at 291–5, and a number of Caesar's motifs are prompted or at least pre-empted by Curio. At 300 *decimo iam uincitis anno* picks up Curio's sentiments at 283 *bellantem geminis tenuit te Gallia lustris*, but converts the emphasis from individual to corporate action. So too, Curio's notion at 280 *trepidant nullo firmatae robore partes* seems to prompt Caesar at 305–7 and 312 *milite cum subito partesque in bella togatae*. Overall, however, the real counterpart to Caesar's speech here is Pompey's at 2.531–95. That speech signals its relationship to the current passage through its parallel opening formula (2.531–3; 299 n.); through its representation of recent history, especially regarding the search for appropriate historical paradigms for the opposing general (324–35 Pompey as Sulla; cf. 2.546 Caesar as Cinna and Marius); through the notion of each opponent being beneath the dignity of the speaker (336–40; cf. 2.551–4); through the answering of accusations of lassitude (311–13; cf. 2.555–61), of illegalities (316–23; cf. 2.562–6), and of trivial campaigning (336–40; cf. 2.568–95). Perhaps facetiously, both speeches clearly also have lengthy meditations upon the relative merits of Pompey (311–40; 2.555–65, 575–95); cf. Fantham on 2.526–609 on Pompey's preoccupation with his own image.

Tasler (1972) 29–40 has treated the structure of Caesar's speech in detail; the following adapts and expands his analysis. Caesar opens at 299–302 by appealing to the goodwill of his audience (*ob captationem beneuolentiae*) and by reminding his soldiers of their ten years' shared military duties in Gaul (299 *socii*, 300 *mecum . . . experti*), a rhetorical precursor to arousing their indignation at the absence of any reward for their service (301 f.), emphasized here in the *cruor . . . | uulneraque et mortes* of his soldiers. He proceeds at 303–11 to the reaction at Rome to his advance into Italy. This second section of the speech can

be divided into three parts: an association of his own invasion with that of Hannibal's in the total response of Rome (303–7); feigned disbelief in this response to a general returning from a successful campaign (307–9); and the notion that he is being attacked (311 *temptamur*) by his enemies while on the threshold of greatness (309–11). From here, Caesar turns to the dominant central theme of his speech, Pompey (311–40). In a lengthy tirade, Caesar reiterates the proem's analysis of the degenerative effects of peace upon Pompey's skill as a general (311 *ueniat longa dux pace solutus*; cf. 130 f. *in senium longoque togae tranquillior usu | dedit iam pace ducem*) and the general state of weakness informing his opponents (312 f.); he condemns Pompey's support as base and bought (314 f. *extremi... emptique clientes*) and his early career as extra-constitutional (316). He then turns to Pompey's more recent illegalities: a possible allusion to Pompey's reluctance to disarm in 50 (317 *raptos numquam dimittet honores?*) precedes reminders of accusations of his orchestrating a famine in 58 (318 f.) and of the interference of his troops in the trial of Milo in 52 (319–23). He then commences a long section characterizing Pompey as the student of Sulla (324–35), followed by a scornful summary of Pompey's service to the state, a section that culminates in the notion that Pompey is unworthy to oppose him (336–40). Caesar now returns to the just deserts of his troops (340–6; cf. 299–301), and concludes his speech with an invocation to arms based upon three factors: the strength of Caesar's troops (347–9), the support of the gods (349–50), and the notion that they are emancipating Rome from servitude (351).

On the existence of historical battle exhortations in antiquity and their rhetorical tradition in ancient historiography, clearly relevant to the present speech, see Hansen (1993) 161–80.

296 conuocat... ad signa maniplos: Silius adapts the line at 13.82 f. *ductor conuelli signa manipulis | ...iubet*. A *manipulus* (in poetry syncopated to *maniplus*) strictly consisted of two centuries and was the legion's basic tactical unit until its replacement by the cohort; it is here in the non-specific sense of 'troops' (*OLD* 3b).

297–8 The tumultuous noise of the assembly, and the efforts to silence them are present at the outset of this epic set piece, the *Diapiera* at Hom. *Il.* 2.94–8:

οἱ δ' ἀγέροντο.

τετρήχει δ' ἀγορή, ὑπὸ δὲ στεναχίζετο γαῖα
λαῶν ἰζόντων, ὄμαδος δ' ἦν· ἐννέα δέ σφεας
κῆρυκες βοόωντες ἐρήτυον, εἴ ποτ' αὐτῆς
σχοίατ', ἀκούσειαν δὲ διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων.

trepidum...tumultum: as with the response of Pompey's troops at Pharsalus at 7.127 and the fears of Ptolemy's minions at 10.425. Previously, it referred to the reaction of the whole world to the Punic war at *Lucr.* 3.834 and Latium's response to Turnus' *signum belli* at *Verg. A.* 8.5. After Lucan, it marks the manner of the withdrawal of Polynices' *comites* from the court of Eteocles at *Stat. Theb.* 2.311.

298 Note the chiasmus of verb and instrument within the line.

dextra silentia iussit: cf. *Pers.* 4.7 f. *fert animus calidae fecisse silentia turbae | maiestate manus* (Haskins); add *Ov. Met.* 1.205 f. (Jupiter) *qui postquam uoce manuque | murmura conpressit, tenere silentia cuncti*. For the gesture and context: *Sen. Cont. excerpta* 9.4.1 *surrexit Sabinus et silentio manu facto* (cf. *Contr.* 9.2.10); *Tac. Ann.* 1.25 *stabat Drusus silentium manu poscens*. *silentia iussit* reappears in epic in two civil war contexts at *Stat. Theb.* 5.102 (Polyxo at Lemnos), 10.761 (Menoceus at Thebes).

299–351 Caesar's speech.

299–300 Compare Caesar's summary of his speech at Ravenna at *Civ.* 1.7.7 *hortatur, cuius imperatoris ductu viiii annis rem publicam felicissime gesserint plurimaque proelia secunda fecerint, omnem Galliam Germaniamque pacauerint, ut eius existimationem dignitatemque ab inimicis defendant*. For this mode of commencing an oration to the rank and file, cf. *Tac. Agr.* 33.2 *septimus annus est, commilitones, ex quo uirtute et auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera uestra Britanniam uicistis. tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitudine aduersus hostis seu patientia ac labore paene aduersus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me militum neque uos ducis paenituit*.

299 **bellorum o socii, qui mille pericula Martis:** the first word sets the tone of the speech, and the opening sentence quotes, amplifies,

and adapts themes from the beginning of Aeneas' speech to his own troops at *Aen.* 1.198 *O socii (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum), | o passi grauiora, dabit deus his quoque finem.* The address *bellorum... socii* is surely a metrically friendly rendering of Caesar's own *commilitones* (Suet. *Jul.* 67.2; Tasler (1972) 31 n. 1 with references; although Nutting (1932) 243–5 provides a salutary reminder of the lack of direct evidence from Caesar's commentaries). Pompey tries to reciprocate at 2.531–3 *o scelerum ultores melioraque signa secuti, | o uere Romana manus, quibus arma senatus | non priuata dedit.* Caesar's opening address also aligns him by vocabulary and context with a tradition in which the epic hero addresses his companions to reassure them of the successful outcome of their *labores*, which begins at Hom. *Od.* 12.208–12, and is continued in Latin at e.g. Verg. *A.* 1.198; Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.25–32. The fact that Caesar affects this heroic stance—complete with epic vocabulary of *o socii* (cf. NH on Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.26) and in the metonym *Mars* for *bellum*—on the eve of invading his own country only underscores the antithetical nature of Caesar's invasion with the foundational missions of heroes such as Vergil's Aeneas and Horace's Teucer.

mille pericula: adapted at V. Fl. 7.271; Juv. 3.8.

300 decimo iam uincitis anno: an extension of the substitution of ablative for accusative for duration, here without a finite verb in a tense of completed action. For the construction, see 283 n. Lucan's epic narrative—in true Homeric form—commences in the tenth year of battle (Lausberg (1985) 1581).

301 hoc: looks to lines 286–9 of Curio's speech.

cruor...diffusus in aruis: a recurrent image in Lucan (9 n.). Closest to this phrase is 4.354, 4.391 f., 5.267 f. For the present form, cf. Verg. *A.* 10.908; Ov. *Met.* 6.253, *Ibis* 605.

Arctois...in aruis: Gaul and Germany (253n.). The phrase is adopted at V. Fl. 6.330 and adapted at Stat. *Theb.* 7.35.

302 sub Alpibus: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.17.

303–4 non secus... | ...quam: i.e. *non minus quam*; cf. Cic. *Mur.* 4.10.

ingenti bellorum...tumultu: *bellorum* is poetic plural. *ingens tumultus* is very frequent in Livy (e.g. 4.59.5, 21.31.12); it is in verse

at Verg. *A.* 11.447, 897; Sen. *Her. F.* 714; after Lucan: *Ilias* 662; Stat. *Theb.* 4.438.

Roma tumultu | concutitur: the allusion to Hannibal is compounded by the intertextual allusion to Lucretius' description of the effects of the Punic war at 3.834 f. *omnia cum belli trepido concussa tumultu | horrida contremuere sub altis aetheris auris.*

304–5 si Poenus transcenderet Alpes | Hannibal: Caesar is made to strengthen further the similarities between his and Hannibal's respective invasions of Italy. These lines both re-echo the earlier statement at 30–2 and recall Caesar's own crossing of the Alps at 182. A contemporary association between the two invasions is found at Cic. *Att.* 7.11.1 *utrum de imperatore populi Romani an de Hannibale loquimur?*

304 transcenderet: PGV (Getty, SB), better than ZMU *transcenderit* (GLK 4.224.1, Housman, WB, Gagliardi): regardless of the mood of the apodosis, the imperfect subjunctive is the correct mood and tense for the protasis of an imaginary supposition.

305 inplentur ualidae tirone cohortes: the adjective is proleptic, the singular *tirone* poetic; together they are juxtaposed in a mockingly ironic sneer from Caesar, that Pompey is bringing his forces to full strength with green troops; cf. 312 *milite cum subito* (Anderson (1916) 101).

306 in classem cadit omne nemus: *in* is 'for the needs or purposes of' (6 n.; OLD 22a). For the phrase cf. Sen. *Her. F.* 1285 *altum omne Pindi Thracis excidam nemus*; after Lucan: Stat. *Theb.* 6.98 *cadit ardua fagus | Chaoniumque nemus brumaeque inlaesa cupressus*; condensed at Achil. 428 *iam natat omne nemus*.

306–7 terraque marique | iussus Caesar agi: Caesar has already used this formula of himself at 201 *en adsum uictor terraque marique. ago* is 'to pursue, to hunt' (OLD 15a). Caesar's *μεγαλοφυχία* is somewhat reflected here and at 338 in his referring to himself in the third person (202 n.; NH on Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.27).

307 quid: sc. *facient*.

signa iacerent: reused by Silius for the aftermath of Cannae at 10.314.

308 **Marte . . . adverso**: an epic expression found first at Verg. *A.* 12.1.

308–9 **ruerentque in terga feroces | Gallorum populi**: *populus* often means ‘nations’ (*OLD* 1a). Caesar is once again made to incriminate himself, not only (as at 303–5) through analogy with previous foreign invasions of Italy, but because his entry into Italy and his withdrawal of cohorts from Gaul is presented as increasing the likelihood of this very event at 392–465 esp. 464 f. *ruere in terga* is reused in the context of pressing hard upon a retreating enemy at Sil. 9.640 and 10.191.

309–10 **nunc, cum Fortuna secundis | mecum rebus agat**: for Caesar’s belief in Fortune and her dealings with him, cf. 226, 264 f.

310 **superique ad summa uocantes**: transparently alluding to Caesar’s ultimate apotheosis. Pompey has his own take on the kind of *summa* Caesar is being called to at 2.544–6 *o rabies miseranda ducis! cum fata Camillis | te, Caesar, magnisque uelint miscere Metellis, | ad Cinnas Mariosque uenis*.

311 **temptamur**: ‘to make an attempt on (by military force)’ (*OLD* 9a).

longa dux pace solutus: (cf. 130 f.) in the face of Caesar’s *series ususque laborum*, *longa pax* is a condition that is just as detrimental for Pompey (129–31) as it is for the people of Ariminum (241) and as it will be for the senate (5.35 f.). The jibe casts Pompey as one of Latin epic’s other *senes* (129–30 n.), Latinus at Verg. *A.* 7.45 f. *Rex arua Latinus et urbes | iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat*. After Lucan, Stat. *Theb.* 3.255 f. applies the phrase *longa . . . pace solutus* to the sea.

312 **milite cum subito**: returns to the theme established at 305. Pompey’s levying of troops throughout Italy (in response to Caesar’s invasion) is presented in Caesar’s commentaries as an issue standing in the way of possible peace (Caes. *Civ.* 9.4, 10.4, 11.1; cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 60.3; App. *B Civ.* 2.34).

partesque in bella togatae: Caesar juxtaposes the antitheses *bella* and *togatae* for maximum effect. *partes* is in the military sense of the word; it refers to opposing sides in a war, especially, a civil war (*OLD pars* 16b; *TLL* 10.1.475.7–53).

313 **Marcellusque loquax**: the existence of three Marcelli opposed to Caesar in this period—M. Claudius Marcellus (cos. 51; *RE C* 229),

C. Claudius Marcellus (cos. 50; *RE* C 216), C. Claudius Marcellus (cos. 49; *RE* C 217)—prompted Getty to suggest that the singular reference should be taken collectively (but cf. Semple (1937) 19: *loquax* would imply otherwise and Getty's parallels do not support his contention). The most obvious reference is to Marcellus the consul of 49 (*contra* SB): Broughton, *MRR* 2.256.

et nomina uana Catones: plural for singular. Caesar would have Cato a cipher in the same fashion as Pompey (135 *magni nominis umbra*). The implication is that Cato's own reputation relies upon that of his great-grandfather, M. Porcius Cato ('the Censor'); perhaps this is suggested in the plural, i.e., 'Cato, that shadow of a name, and his great-grandfather who is long dead and so equally a name without substance'. The phrase is Ovidian (*Ep.* 4.130; *Met.* 15.154), favoured in Senecan prose (*Dial.* 7.21.1; *Ep.* 80.5) and appears after Lucan at Curt. 4.14.13; Mart. 4.11.1.

314–23 Caesar asks a series of indignant rhetorical questions regarding extraordinary and, in some cases, extra-constitutional aspects and allegations regarding Pompey's career.

314 **extremi...emptique clientes:** *extremi* is a moral judgement, almost *infimi* (Housman; cf. *TLL* 5.2.2004.38–65), which relates the *clientes* here to the crowd featured in the description of Pompey at line 132 *multa dare in uulgus*.

315 **continuo per tot satiabant tempora regno:** in 67 the *lex Gabinia* gave him *imperium* against pirates operating in the Mediterranean for three years (122 n.). This was followed in 66 by the *lex Manilia*, granting him the command against Mithridates and *imperium* over Cilicia, Bythnia, and Pontus, which he exercised until 62. In 57 he was given control of the corn supply with proconsular *imperium* for five years. In 55 he was cos. II with Crassus. In 54 he was given proconsular *imperium* over Spain for five years. In 52, after the murder of Clodius, he was cos. III—the sole occupant of the office—and in the same year his *imperium* was extended for another five years from this date. For the phrase *tot tempora*: Man. 2.589.

continuo: a favourite word of Vergil's (28x; Austin (1955) on Verg. A. 4.265), but very rare in later poetry and here only in *BC*.

315–16 **regno | ille reget**: paronomasia underscores the suggestion of Pompey as a kind of monarch.

316–17 **ille... | ille**: the anaphora of *ille* and the identical length of these two questions heighten the sense of Caesar's indignation.

316 **reget currus nondum patientibus annis**: in 81 Pompey was granted a triumph by Sulla at the age of 25 over Iarbas of Numidia, despite the fact that he was still several years too young to stand for a regular magistracy and an *eques*.

317 **semel raptos numquam dimittet honores**: not only restates the issue at line 315, but may also (Getty) allude to the Pompeian faction's refusal to acknowledge Curio's proposal that both leaders lay down their commands (App. *B Civ.* 2.30; Plut. *Pomp.* 58.3–5). Pompey essentially levels the same allegation at Caesar when he declares at 6.319–21 *numquam me Caesaris... | exemplo reddam patriae, numquamque uidebit | me nisi dimisso redeuntem milite Roma*. Moreover, Cato in his eulogy has an altogether different take on Pompey which is in pointed contrast to Caesar: cf. 9.200 *iuuit sumpta ducem, iuuit dimissa potestas*. Stat. *Theb.* 4.83 has *rapti... honores* to describe Eteocles' theft of *regnum*.

318–19 **quid iam rura querar totum suppressa per orbem | ac iussam seruire famem**: a food shortage at Rome had become critical in 57 and had resulted in violent demonstrations by the *plebs* (Cic. *Dom.* 10–12; *Red. Sen.* 34; *Att.* 4.1.6; Plut. *Pomp.* 49.5). In response to this, Pompey was entrusted with a five-year commission to guarantee the supply of grain throughout the Mediterranean (Broughton, *MRR* 2.203 f.), the effect of which seems to have calmed anxieties and there is no evidence for further shortages after 56 (Cic. *Har.* 31; *Q. fr.* 2.3.2). In *praeteritio*, Caesar here dredges up T. Annius Milo's unfounded provocation of 7 February 56: Cic. *Q. fr.* 2.3.2 *ille [Milo] furens et exsanguis interrogabat suos in clamore ipso quis esset qui plebem fame necaret: respondebant operae 'Pompeius'*.

319–23 In the aftermath of the murder and funeral of P. Clodius Pulcher in January 52 Milo was prosecuted *de ui, de ambitu*, and *de sodaliciis* (Ascon. *Mil.* 38). The supporters of Clodius created sufficient disturbances on the first day of the proceedings for Pompey to

appear in person and accompanied by armed soldiers on the subsequent days of the trial. On the final day of the trial, the forum was occupied, so too approaches to and from the forum (cf. 319 f.; Cic. *Mil.* 2; Ascon. *Mil.* 41). The presence of the troops guaranteed Milo's condemnation (despite Cic. *Mil.* 2; Vell. 2.47.4; Cass. Dio 40.53.3 who reports some deaths resulting from the soldiers' presence: Seager (1979) 146). The accusation is contained in Caes. *Civ.* 1.3.3, 3.1.4.

319 castra: *milites* by metonymy.

320 gladii...triste micantes: MVUG *minantes* may be correct (Heitland (1895) 149) but cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.153 f. *enses | triste micant*; Liv. 1.25.4 *arma micantesque fulsere gladii*; Sen. *Dial.* 2.6.2 *inter micantis ubique gladios*; Ep. 76.33 *si rectis oculis gladios micantes uidet*. On *gladius*: 243 n.

321 iudicium insolita trepidum cinxere corona: plays on the general and military meanings of *corona* (OLD 4a and b). ASL, Haskins, Getty, and WB have noted the details from the last sentence of Cic. *Mil.* 1 but the whole opening statement ought to be considered for its emphasis upon anxiety (reflected here in Caesar's *trepidum*):

Etsi uereor, iudices, ne turpe sit pro fortissimo uiro dicere incipientem timere minimeque deceat, cum T. Annii ipse magis de rei publicae salute quam de sua perturbetur, me ad eius causam parem animi magnitudinem adferre non posse, tamen haec noui iudici nova forma terret oculos qui, quocumque inciderunt, ueterem consuetudinem fori et pristinum morem iudiciorum requirunt. Non enim corona consessus uester cinctus est, ut solebat; non usitata frequentia stipati sumus...

322 auso medias perrumpere milite leges: M *ausum*, but 'it was the military guard at the trial, not the violence of Milo, that made the breach in constitutional peace' (Heitland (1895) 193). Note the heavy emphasis on the illegality through the use of the intensifying prefix *per-*, the emphatic adjective *medias*, and the notion of audacity (*auso*): on intensive *medius* see Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.41. *perrumpere leges* is Ciceronian: *Leg.* 42.16; *Off.* 3.36; cf. 4.27 *ruptis legibus*, both drawing on Verg. G. 1.510.

323 Pompeiana reum clausurunt signa Milonem: a golden line marks the climax of Caesar's description of Milo's trial. Note that the political

opponents Pompey (in adjectival form) and Milo themselves enclose the action of the line; *claudo* is 'surround' (OLD 6).

324 ne lassum teneat priuata senectus: Caesar strikes a rhetorical blow at a fundamental feature of Lucan's Pompey (cf. 129–31); this allusion to notion of Pompey's retirement foreshadows Caesar's imminent reference to Sulla. In fact, Pompey held *imperium* over the two Spains at this time and in Italy such power as conferred in the decree of 7 January (Fantham on 2.277–9). Lucan follows Vergilian usage in the case of the noun *senectus*, appearing thus only in the nominative; in the oblique cases, the archaic *senecta* is substituted (Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.192).

325 bella nefanda: 21 n.

suetus ciuilibus armis: for *suetus armis* cf. Verg. *A.* 5.414; it reappears at Tac. *Hist.* 1.68. Caesar's allegation is about to be amplified in the following lines (326–35). When Sulla invaded Italy in 83, the young Pompey went to offer his services with a private army raised from his own clients (Cic. *Man.* 61; App. *B Civ.* 1.80.366). During the ensuing civil war, Pompey fought for Sulla's interests (App. *B Civ.* 1.87.396, 88.401, 90.413 f.; Plut. *Pomp.* 7 f.; *Mor.* 203b; Oros. 5.20.5). He recruited two further legions (App. *B Civ.* 1.80.367; Plut. *Pomp.* 6), married Sulla's stepdaughter (Plut. *Pomp.* 9; *Sulla* 53), chased down and killed Carbo in Africa and Sicily (Cic. *Man.* 61; App. *B Civ.* 1.92.425, 95.440, 96.449; Liv. *per.* 89; Eutrop. 5.8.2), and suppressed the resistance led by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (helped by Iarbas of Numidia) in Africa (Sall. *Hist.* 1.53; App. *B Civ.* 1.80.368; Plut. *Pomp.* 11 f.; Liv. *per.* 89 Eutrop. 5.9.1): an event that led directly to his first triumph. Caesar will reiterate the current allegation before Pharsalus at 7.307 *cum duce Sullano gerimus ciuilia bella*.

326–31 Caesar was not alone in drawing the comparison: Cic. *Att.* 7.7, 8.21.2, 9.7.3, 9.10.6, 10.2 10.6, 10.7.1.

326 docilis ... uicisse: Lucan takes *docilis* + inf. from Hor. *Ep.* 1.2.64; cf. also Sen. *Phaed.* 814. After here: Sil. 1.150, 4.8, 13.120, 14.272, 14.392, 16.551; V. Fl. 6.237. *uincere* is 'to surpass, outdo' (OLD 9a).

Sullam scelerum ... magistrum: cf. Cic. *S. Rosc.* 17 (on the gladiator Magnus) *facile ipsum magistrum scelere audaciaque superauit*.

327–9 The simile of the wild tigers.

327 *ferae tigres numquam posuere furorem*: Haskins and Getty compare Aesch. Ag. 717–56, but more relevant and compact is Sen. Ep. 85.8 *tigres leonesque numquam feritatem exuunt, aliquando summittunt, et cum minime expectaueris exasperatur toruitas mitigata*.

posuere furorem: simple for *deponere* (used at 2.83), as at Ov. Rem. 497; Sen. Nat. 3 pr. 18; Stat. Silv. 2.2.26. *posuere* is a gnomic perfect.

328 *nemore Hyrcano*: near the Caspian sea. The only place for an epic tiger to be since Verg. A. 4.367 (cf. Sil. 5.280; Stat. Theb. 9.16, 12.170). See also Mela 3.43; Petr. 134.12.7; Plin. Nat. 8.66; Mart. Sp. 18.2. Pease (1935) on Verg. 4.367 has an overview of the region in Roman literature and beyond.

matrum...lustra: i.e., the *lustra ferarum* of Verg. G. 2.471; A. 3.646 f.; Sil. 3.438, 16.552.

secuntur: *sequuntur* (Haskins, Getty, WB) has no manuscript authority.

329 *armentorum*: to round off the simile, a golden line and the first spondaic fifth foot in the poem; there are three in book one (here, 665 *Orionis*, 689 *Pyrenen*) and only fourteen in the epic (2.396 *Appenninus*, 2.675 *Hellesponti*, 5.598 *Atlanteo*, 6.386 *Centauros*, 8.697 *Mausolea*, 9.297 *Cyrenarum*, 9.329 *armamentis*, 9.719 *amphisbaena*, 9.836 *Orionis*, 9.918 *Centaurea*, 10.216 *incrementis*): see Heitland xcvi; Mayer (1981) on 8. 697; SB 288; Helzle (1992).

altus...pauit cruor: *altus* is adjective for adverb but not (Getty) taken with both *pauit* and *caesorum*. For *altus cruor*: 3.572; Stat. Theb. 5.310; Sil. 4.162.

330 *Sullanum solito tibi lambere ferrum | durat, Magne, sitis*: the imagery of *sitis* and its context may be drawn from Sen. Suas. 6.3 *ciuilis sanguinis Sullana sitis in ciuitatem redit, et ad triumphalem hastam pro uectigalibus ciuium Romanorum mortes locantur; unius tabellae albo Pharsalica ac Mundensis Mutinensisque ruina uincitur*; cf. also Sen. Cl. 1.12.1 *quis tamen umquam tyrannus tam auide humanum sanguinem bibit quam ille [Sulla]*. The phrase *Sullanum ferrum* is also found at Petr. 120, line 97 f. *nec mea Tisiphone sitientes perluit artus, | ex quo Sullanus bibit ensis*. Lucan's (Caesar's) Pompey may inform the image of the emperor Domitian at Plin. Pan. 48.3.

331–2 nullus semel ore receptus | pollutas patitur sanguis mansuescere fauces: For *sententiae* in *BC*, see 32 n. This is a useful image in light of the repeated outbreaks of civil war in the last two generations of the republic. The idea is repeated as Petreius breaks off the nascent peace between his own troops and those of Caesar at 4.237–42:

sic, ubi desuetae siluis in carcere clauso
mansuevere ferae et uultus posuere minaces
atque hominem didicere pati, si torrida paruos
uenit in ora cruor, redeunt rabiesque furorque
admonitaeque tument gustato sanguine fauces;
feruet et a trepido uix abstinet ira magistro.

It is an image drawn from Vergil, who compares Turnus besieging the Trojan camp to a wolf at *A.* 9.63 f. *collecta fatigat edendi | ex longo rabies et siccae sanguine fauces*. The notion of *pollutas sanguine fauces* is found previously at *Ov. Met.* 15.98 *polluit ora cruore*; after here it is appropriately applied to the cannibalism of Tydeus at *Stat. Theb.* 8.761 *uiu scelerantem sanguine fauces*. *ore receptas* is a line ending at *Ov. Am.* 2.16.26. The collocation is adapted to a battlefield death at *Stat. Theb.* 9.130 *faucibus ille cauis hastam non ore receptam | miratur moriens*. For *nullus* as *non* see 12 n.

333 quem tamen inueniet tam longa potentia finem: this was, of course, the central issue regarding Caesar's own *potentia* in the 24 months preceding the civil war. Note Caesar's use of *potentia* (*OLD* 1a) in contrast to legally sanctioned *potestas* (*OLD* 3). *longa potentia* is Ovidian (*Met.* 2.416; *Fast.* 4.831); Tacitus later applies this precise phrase to Augustus at *Ann.* 1.8, but also worth comparison is his take on the republican dynasts at *Ann.* 1.1 *non Cinnae, non Sullae longa dominatio; et Pompei Crassique potentia cito in Caesarem*.

tamen...tam longa: supply *quamuis* before *tam* (Housman), as commonly with *tamen*: e.g. *Lucr.* 4.952 f.; *Cic. Inv.* 1.39, *Arat.* 139–41; *Tib.* 1.9.4; *Verg. Ecl.* 1.27, *G.* 1.197 f., *A.* 3.341; *Hor. Carm.* 1.15.19 f.; *Ov. Ep.* 16.238, *Am.* 1.8.20; *Man.* 4.413 (Munro (1873) on *Lucr.* 4.952; Housman (1903–30) on *Man.* 4.413; NH on *Hor. Carm.* 1.15.19; Hill (1983) on *Stat. Theb.* 1.480; McKeown (1987) on

Ov. *Am.* 1.8.20; Clausen (1994) on Verg. *Ecl.* 1.27; Kenney (1996) on Ov. *Ep.* 16.238).

334 quis scelerum modus est: *modus* is 'limit'. For the phrase, cf. Sen. *Thy.* 1051 f. *sceleris est aliquis modus*. | *sceleri modus debetur ubi facias scelus* (Getty); add Hor. *Carm.* 3.15.2 *tandem nequitiae fige modum tuae*; Sen. *Phaed.* 141 *pudor est secundus nosse peccandi modum*; Ag. 150 *nequitiae modus*; Man. 2.594a–b *non posuere modum sceleri, sed fraude nefanda* | *ipse deus Caesar cecidit, qua territus orbi*. The line is adapted for Gorge's killing of her husband at Stat. *Theb.* 5.215 *idem sceleri modus*.

334–5 ex hoc . . . te . . . regno | **ille tuus saltem doceat descendere Sulla:** there may be behind the equation *ex hoc regno* a dig at those who studiously avoided the term 'dictatorship' for Pompey's sole consulship in 52 (App. *B Civ.* 2.23; Cass. Dio 40.53.3 f.; Seager (1979) 144). Caesar is again made to reveal his own hypocrisy, since Suetonius records the anecdote concerning his response to Sulla's abdication of the dictatorship (for which: Broughton *MRR* 2.82) at *Jul.* 77.1 *Sullam nescisse litteras, qui dictaturam deposuerit*. Cf. also Sen. *Cl.* 1.12.1 on the same event *descenderit licet e dictatura sua et se togae reddiderit*. *descendere* is virtually a technical term for abdicating office (*OLD* 1c).

334 inprobe: the sense in this context is explained by the following line (Coleman (1977) on Verg. *Ecl.* 8.49).

335 ille tuus saltem doceat descendere Sulla: *doceat* reprises 326 *docilis*. Pompey replies in kind to the association with the leaders of the previous civil war at 2.545 f. *te, Caesar, magnisque uelint miscere Metellis*, | *ad Cinnae Mariosque uenis* (Tasler (1972) 35 n. 2).

336 Cilicasne uagos: the decisive battle in Pompey's command against the pirates was off the coast of Coracesium in Cilicia and resulted in his taking of their stronghold in this region. The noun may either refer to the free movement throughout the Mediterranean prior to 67 or to the vast amount of territory covered by Pompey in his suppression of their activity (122 n.).

336–7 lassi Pontica regis | **proelia barbarico uix consummata ueneno:** *lassus rex* refers to the number of commands against Mithridates IV before Pompey's own in 67: Sulla (87–85); L. Licinius

Murena (83–81); L. Licinius Lucullus (73–68). It was incumbent upon Pompey at the outset of his command to produce a final solution to Mithridates' habitual insurgency (cf. Cic. *Mur.* 34). Mithridates fled to Colchis and the Bosporus; he committed suicide in 63. Housman is correct that *uix consummata* is an allegation of military ineptitude against Pompey—and one which points up the slowness of his opponent in precisely the same geographical location of Caesar's most famous speedy success (Suet. *Jul.* 37.2 *Pontico triumpho inter pompae fercula trium uerborum praetulit titulum VENI VIDI VICI non acta belli significantem sicut ceteris, sed celeriter confecti notam*)—not to the fact that Mithridates had inured himself to poison. For this tradition: Liv. *per.* 102 *Mithridates obsessus in regia cum ueneno sumpto parum profecisset ad mortem, a milite Gallo, nomine Bitoco, a quo, ut adiuuaret se, petierat, interfectus est*; cf. Mart. 5.76.1 f.

338 ultima Pompeio dabitur prouincia Caesar: the indignation of this question is brought out in two ways. In the first place, by the denigration of Pompey's earlier commands at 336 f.: will Caesar, victorious now for ten years (300), be the last link in a chain that included *Cilicas uagos* and an exhausted king who could barely be conquered by Pompey? The second aspect is inherent in styling himself a *prouincia* (cf. *Comm. Bern. et Caesar, sicut rebellis prouincia a senatu Pompeio subigendus tradetur?*): it is used in the strict sense of a 'a special function or task assigned to a magistrate' (*OLD* 1a); *dabitur* is simple for the compound *tradetur*.

339 quod non uictrices aquilas deponere iussus | paruerim: like the common soldier at 237 f. *iussus deponere miles | signa*. For *uictrices aquilas* cf. 5.237 f. *interea domitis Caesar remeabat Hiberis | uictrices aquilas alium laturus in orbem*. 'Lucan seems to take malicious delight in placing *non* ambiguously before an adjective when it really modifies the verb or a whole sentence' (Anderson (1916) 101; see too 455).

340 mihi si merces erepta laborum est: Caesar adjusts the nature of his ostensible *merces laborum* in his disingenuous prayer over the decapitated head of Pompey at 9.1098–102:

caruere deis mea uota secundis,
 ut te complexus positus felicibus armis
 adfectus a te ueteres uitamque rogarem,
 Magne, tuam dignaque satis mercede laborum
 contentus par esse tibi.

merces laborum is Ciceronian (*Arch.* 28; *Fam.* 3.10.4). Getty's comment, that it is 'what the *crur diffusus* (301) really *meruit*', would apply here if Caesar were talking about a reward snatched away from the soldiery (which he will go on to do in the following lines). It is better to relate the phrase back to the programmatic introduction of his Gallic labours, the *series usque laborum* of 123.

341 **his**: *militibus*.

longi...belli: a stark contrast to Pompey: 311 *longa dux pace solutus* (WB).

non cum duce: *sine duce*; cf. 7.96.

praemia belli: a metrically useful line ending since *Dirae* 85; *Tib.* 2.5.115; *Carm. Bell. Aeg.* col. 2.7 (also a speech of Caesar); after *Lucan* (here and 5.330): *V. Fl.* 2.114 (also as *longi... praemia belli*); *Sil.* 3.149. Like the *merces laborum* of the previous line, Caesar's presentation of what he conceives these *praemia belli* to be changes as do the circumstances of the war and his needs of the moment. Here, as he urges his troops to civil war, they are clearly corporate, and refer to a triumph and future security for his troops (342–6); similarly at 5.330, as he chides his troops back into submission, they are similarly conceived at 5.329–32:

nobis uictoria turbam
 non dabit, impulsus tantum quae praemia belli
 auferat et uestri rapta mercede laboris
 lauriferos nullo comitetur uulnere currus?

But upon his discovery of Pompey's betrayal and murder, Caesar again dissimulates (340 n.) at 9.1066–8 *unica belli | praemia ciuilis, uictis donare salutem, | perdidimus*.

342 **miles...iste**: *iste* is here a lively synonym of *hic* (*OLD* 4; *Costa* (1973) on *Sen. Med.* 970–1; *Mayer* (1981) on *Luc.* 8.545 with

Augustan references). *iste* is introduced into epic by Vergil but remains uncommon in the higher genres: Norden (1916²) on Verg. A. 6.37; Axelson (1945) 71–3.

sub quolibet: Senecan: *Ep.* 71.26 *stat rectus sub quolibet pondere*. It looks back to *non cum duce* as *triumphet* does to *praemia belli*.

343 exanguis...post bella senectus: *exanguis* is 'lacking strength, exhausted, feeble' (*OLD* 3). The imagery of an *exanguis senectus* is as old as Acc. *Trag.* 56. The theme of Caesar's troops worn out with long service is revisited in *BC* at 5.274 f. and especially at 5.333 f., when Caesar rails at them '*uos despecta senes exhaustaque sanguine turba | cernetis nostros iam plebs Romana triumphos*'. After Lucan the theme is redeployed at Stat. *Theb.* 11.323 *exanguis crudescunt luctibus anni*; Sil. 2.320 *exanguis merendo | stant prima inter signa senes*, 10.117 *quinam ad cassos furor impulit ictus | exanguem senio dextram?*

344–5 quae...quae... | quae...quae: Caesar now moves towards the conclusion of his speech; he signals an escalation in intensity by a number of rhetorical questions marked by anaphora of interrogative pronouns, and placed in the same metrical position in each line. Note also the chiasmic arrangement of subject matter: home (*sedes*)—fields (*rura*)—fields (*aret*)—home (*moenia*).

345 quae moenia fessis: the theme is probably cast back at Caesar by Metellus at 3.131 *sunt quos prosternas populi, quae moenia dones* [*sc. militibus*]. Caesar once again plays Aeneas to his troops (229 n.) and is, once again, exposed by his invasion of Italy as the antithesis of his would-be paradigm. Aeneas prays to Apollo at Delos at Verg. A. 3.85–7 *da propriam, Thymbraee, domum; da moenia fessis | et genus et mansuram urbem; serua altera Troiae | Pergama, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli*. *fessus* is the preferred adjective in epic. Lucan deploys it twice as frequently (19x) as its (possibly colloquial) synonym *lassus* (9x; Axelson (1945) 29 f.; Austin (1964) on Verg. A. 2.739; Knox (1995) on Ov. *Ep.* 10.145).

346 an melius fient piratae, Magne, coloni: *an* introduces an excited question (Coleman (1977) on Verg. *Ecl.* 9.1–2). Compare Pompey at 2.635 f. *sparsos per rura colonos | redde mari Cilicas*. Vell. 2.32.5 f.

records the reservations felt by some at Pompey's settling of pirates in assigned land in Cilicia in 67: *et quo maturius bellum tam late diffusum conficeret, reliquias eorum contractas in urbibus remotoque mari loco in certa sede constituit. sunt qui hoc carpant, sed quamquam in auctore satis rationis est, tamen ratio quemlibet magnum auctorem faceret; data enim facultate sine rapto uiuendi, rapinis arcuit.* Pompey's defeat of the pirates is a recurrent motif throughout *BC*: 122, here, 2.576–9, 2.635 f., 6.420–2, 8.38, 9.222–4.

347 iam pridem: take with *uictricia* not (Haskins) with the verb.

uictricia ... signa: first collocated in Lucan; a favourite of Silius: 1.31, 6.599, 12.288, 14.179, 15.230 f., 15.481, 15.811.

tollite iam ... tollite signa: anaphora marks the emotional escalation of Caesar's rhetoric; cf. Lentulus to the senate at 5.41.

348 uiribus utendum est quas fecimus: an athletic metaphor, as at Quint. *Inst.* 10.3.3 *uires faciamus ante omnia quae sufficiant labori certaminum et usu non exauriantur.*

348–9 arma tenenti | omnia dat, qui iusta negat: a true *sententia* as defined by Aristotle; it gains force from the opposition of its verbs *dat* and *negat*: for a similar effect cf. 510–11. For *sententiae* in *BC* see 32 n.

349 nec numina derunt: Caesar echoes his conviction of 309–11 *nunc, cum fortuna secundis | mecum rebus agat superique ad summa uocantes, | temptamur*—a conviction still holding at 5.499—and recasts a fundamental quality of his character: 148 f. *instare fauori | numinis.*

350 neque praeda meis neque regnum quaeritur armis: on both counts Caesar's contention is exposed as fraudulent throughout *BC*. As regards *praeda*, both the people of Ariminum and the peoples of Rome see Caesar as seeking it (350, 512 f.); at 3.153–68 he is depicted as plundering it from Rome; after Pharsalus at 7.737–60, his troops loot the republican camp with Caesar's encouragement. Apropos *regnum*, Caesar is clearly no Cato (9.27 *nec regnum cupiens gessit ciuilia bella*): 4.692 (although about Curio, the reference to Caesar is clear). The immediate and long-term aftermath of Pharsalus is *regnum*, as the narrator explicitly states at 7.642 f. *proxima quid suboles aut quid meruere nepotes | in regnum nasci?*

quaeritur armis: an Ovidian line ending (*Met.* 14.453), cast back at Caesar by his troops at 5.273; after Lucan: *Stat. Theb.* 7.554.

351 **detrahimus dominos:** adapted at Juv. 10.88.

352–91 LAELIUS' SPEECH

Laelius speaks on behalf of the soldiers and urges his general to war.

Caesar's speech is immediately met by inarticulate mutterings of reservation from his soldiers (352 f.). The narrator explains the cause of this hesitation at 353–5: *pietas patriique penates* are able to evoke feelings of loyalty that outweigh their inclination to battle. However, even these notions of *pietas* and patriotism are quickly trumped by two overwhelming forces: love of the sword and fear of Caesar (355 f.). The speech of the historically fictitious centurion Laelius articulates these greater priorities and demonstrates the new morality obtaining in the circumstances of civil war. More than this: Roller (1996) 329 has argued that Laelius is able to succeed in rousing the rank and file to war (cf. 386–91) where Caesar initially failed by replacing their concerns about *pietas* with a new moral framework for civil war. By publicly relinquishing to Caesar the right of delineating the community of Roman citizens at 373 f., he effectively divests his troops (and himself) of the principal ethical dilemma of civil war. The most grotesque and memorable elements of his speech are devoted to illustrating his commitment to Caesar's choice. The speech of Laelius and the obsessive loyalty expressed therein is programmatic for the figure of the centurion under Caesar in *BC*; on Caesar's centurions in Lucan see Leigh 191–233 esp. 203–10 (on Laelius).

Structurally, Laelius' speech comprises three main rhetorical movements. The first section (359–66) revisits and expands Curio's warning not to delay the war (280 f.), although Laelius' encouragement is couched in more cautious terms (359–62) than the tribune's blunt imperative (281 *tolle moras*). In this opening statement a kind of emotional imperative is also brought to bear upon his general in Laelius' questioning of Caesar's confidence in his troops (362). His

own response to this possibility is to outline the issues of the war from the perspective of the common soldier: they have the strength (363 f.); and the tyranny of the senate as well as the dishonourable life as a private citizen (365) awaiting Caesar's peaceful return to Rome are unbearable. His opening gambit is capped by a sententious question charged with the new moral relativism: 366 *usque adeo miserum est ciuili uincere bello?* A second section (367–72) outlines the willingness of the troops to follow Caesar to the ends of the Roman world and cites their previous service in Gaul (369–71: again revisiting themes raised by Curio at 283–5) as evidence of this disposition. The factors informing this willingness are exposed to a certain extent by the paradoxical *sententia* that concludes this point at 372. The final section of Laelius' speech (373–86) is initiated by his blunt redefinition of the community of Roman citizens at 373 f. and this leads Laelius to a demonstration of his greater allegiance to Caesar than to his fellow citizens (373 f.), his own family (374–8), the demands of religion (379 f.), and, climactically, the fatherland and the city of Rome itself (held over in enjambment as the final words of the speech at 386 *Roma sit*).

352–3: Pompey receives a similarly ambiguous reception from the troops to his parallel speech at 2.596 f. *BC* implies that the average soldier has to be compelled against his better judgement to initiate civil war.

352 **dixerat**: Lucan is more sparing of this as a formula of transition to narrative from direct speech (6x) compared to the other epic poets (Verg. *A.*: 24x; Ov. *Met.*: 26x; V. Fl.: 27x; Stat. *Theb.*: 13x; *Achil.*: 3x; Sil. 2x).

352–3 **dubium...murmure uulgus | secum incerta fremit**: so too, the Pompeian faction, keen for battle on the morning of Pharsalus at 7.45 f. Likewise Cato's soldiers at 9.217 *fremit interea discordia uulgi* and the troops of Caesar at 10.11 f. *sed fremitu uulgi fasces et iura querentis | inferri Romana suis discordia sensit | pectora et ancipites animos*, when both are reluctant to pursue the civil war further. Statius adapted these lines to mark the confusion at the approach of the army of the seven at *Theb.* 7.122 f. *dubiumque in murmure uulgus | pendet*. Silius also reuses elements employed here to describe

the crowd's initial uncertainties about Scipio's assumption, at 24 years old, of command against Hannibal at 15.138 *ea confuso percenset murmure uulgus. fremere* conveys the idea of inarticulate and confused sounds (cf. βρέμειν) and is frequently used of an audience's reaction to a speech (e.g. Verg. A. 1.599 f., 5.385 f., 11.132, 11.296 f.; Ov. Met. 1.199; Fordyce (1977) on Verg. A. 7.389; Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.96–7). For *uulgus fremit*, cf. Ov. Met. 15.607; after Lucan: Stat. Theb. 2.224, 3.606.

353 pietas patriique penates: heavy, threefold alliteration of 'p' (as at 673), a favourite of Lucan's (Fantham on Luc. 2.559). At 4.26–8 and at 9.230 f. these factors or variations of them influence the desire of the troops to cease or delay civil war; at 7.346, Pompey uses his army's desire to see these as spurs into battle at Pharsalus. *patriique penates* is a line ending at Ov. Ep. 3.67.

354 caede feras mentes animosque tumentes: likewise Verg. A. 6.49 (Sibyl) *rabie fera corda tument* (Getty). Note too the chiasmus of adjectives and nouns.

caede feras mentes: the adjective is simple for the compound *efferas*.

animosque tumentes: cf. Cic. Tusc. 3.19 *sic igitur inflatus et tumens animus in uitio est. sapientis autem animus semper uacat uitio, numquam turgescit, numquam tument*; Sen. Ben. 6.31 *cum bellum Graeciae indiceret Xerxes, animum tumentem*; Fron. Str. 4.5.2 (C. Caesar, *seditione in tumultu ciuiliū armorum facta, maxime animis tumentibus, legionem totam exauctorauit, ducibus seditionis securi percussis*) probably draws upon Lucan here to describe the event narrated at 5.364–73.

355 frangunt: note the emphatic effect of the enjambment; a similar effect is achieved on the next line with *ductorisque metu*.

diro ferri reuocantur amore: cf. the axiom at Hom. Od. 16.294 *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος*. Caesar's troops are affected in the same manner as Turnus after his possession by Allecto at Verg. A. 7.461 *saeuit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli*. After Lucan, Stat. Achil. 2.107 has Achilles speak of his *ferri properatus amor*; Silius' Marcellus is affected by the opposite process: 14.182 *ferri languebat amor. dirus amor* is Ovidian (Met. 10.426 of Myrrha's incestuous love

of her father) found also at Sen. Ag. 590, but an easy extension of a variety of similar collocations: Lucr. 4.1090 *cuppedine*; Verg. G. 1.37 *regnandi...cupido*; Verg. A. 6.721 *lucis...cupido*; Man. 4.539 *cibi...cupido*; Sen. Thy. 953 *flendi...cupido* (Tarrant (1976) on Sen. Ag. 590). *reuocari amore* is used previously by Vergil of Hippolytus at A. 7.769 *Paeoniis reuocatum herbis et amore Dianae*.

356 ductorisque metu: applied to Hannibal at Sil. 4.772. His soldiers' fear of Caesar is a basic aspect of their relationship: cf. esp. 5.316–18, 364–73, and the general statement of Caesar at 3.81 *gaudet tamen esse timori*.

356–7 summi munera pili | ...gerens: i.e. he was the *primipilus* or *primus pilus*, the chief centurion of the legion. In Caesar's commentaries (*Gal.* 1.41.3, 7.17.8) we find these officers acting as intermediaries between Caesar and his troops. This line is adapted at Mart. 1.93.3 *ara duplex primi testatur munera pili*. *munera* is poetic plural and refers to the actual post of *primipilus* (*OLD munus* 2b) as opposed to the *insignia* at 357.

357 Laelius: for the name see the introduction to this section.

emeritique...doni: *emeritus* in the sense 'to deserve as the result of merit' (*OLD* 2a).

358 seruati ciuis referentem praemia quercum: Laelius has been awarded the *corona ciuica* for saving a fellow Roman's life in battle (Plin. *Nat.* 16.12 f.; Gell. 5.6.11–15; cf. Verg. A. 6.772; Maxfield (1981) 70–4): a morbidly ironic detail, given the content of his speech, and one which casts a bitterly ironic shadow over his statements at 366 and 373–4 (Ahl 201; Leigh 204). For the formula *seruati ciuis...praemia*, cf. the variants at *Laus Pis.* 30 (*gloria*); Tac. *Ann.* 3.21, 12.31 (*decus*), 15.2 (*corona*).

359–60 si licet... | ...et ius est: a variant on the phrase *si licet et fas est* (Cic. *Cael.* 27; Ov. *Fast.* 1.25; Stat. *Theb.* 8.90).

si licet... | ...expromere uoces: sc. *nos*; for the construction *licet* with acc. + inf.: *OLD licet* 1b.

359 exclamat: because at Caes. *Civ.* 1.7.8 *conclamant legionis XIII... milites... sese paratos esse imperatoris sui tribunorumque plebis iniurias defendere*.

359–60 Romani maxime rector | nominis: perhaps a dig at Pompey, the *magna nominis umbra* (135). Also an appellation linking Caesar to Jupiter, as at Verg. *A.* 8.572 (cf. Mart. 9.36.4); Sen. *Tro.* 978: George (1988) 337 reads Laelius as framing Caesar as a personal Jupiter (*Rector Olympi* and 2.4, 5.620) and ἡγεμονικόν of his soul.

360 ueras expromere uoces: an adaptation of Verg. *A.* 2.279 f. (Aeneas) *uidebar | ... maestas expromere uoces*; redeployed at Stat. *Theb.* 2.101 *uisus fatorum expromere uoces*.

361 quod tam lenta tuas tenuit patientia uires: adapted by Silius' Marcellus to reproach the consul Varro for not driving out the Capuan embassy who had demanded a permanent share of the consulship: 11.100 *quae tandem et quam lenta tenet patientia mentem*.

362 deratne tibi fiducia nostri: sentiments adapted from Ov. *Ep.* 16.323 *tunc ego, si non est fallax fiducia nostri, | efficiam praesens, ut mea regna petas*; reused twice at V. Fl. 4.124, 7.520. Leigh 205 notes the elegiac nuances of the question ('Laelius adopts the tone of the injured lover') and cites the high frequency of *tu* in his speech (361, 362, 373, 375, 383; cf. Prop. 1.8.1–8).

363–4 dum mouet haec calidus spirantia corpora sanguis, | et dum pila ualent fortes torquere lacerti: Laelius' statement of readiness is mirrored in Pompey's self-conscious assertion of physical strength at 2.556–8 *ualet, en, torquendo dextera pilo, | feruidus haec iterum circa praecordia sanguis | incaluit*.

363 dum mouet haec calidus spirantia corpora sanguis: cf. Hom. *Il.* 9.609 f. (Achilles) εἰς ὃ κ' ἀϋτμῇ | ἐν στήθεσσι μένη καί μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρη; 22.387 f.; Cic. *N.D.* 3.94 *dum quidem spirare potero, nefas iudico*; Verg. *A.* 4.336 *dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus* (note repetition of *dum* as at 363 f.); Ov. *Met.* 616 f. *nec taedia coepti | ulla mei capiam, dum spiritus iste manebit* (Pease (1935) on Verg. *A.* 4.336 with references).

dum... | et dum: Laelius' provocation at 365 is underscored by anaphora in the clauses leading up to it.

calidus... sanguis: answers to Caesar's jibe at Pompey's at 343 *exanguis... post bella senectus*. *calidus sanguis* is relevant to both the vigour of Caesar's troops (as at Sen. *Oed.* 297 f.; Luc. 4.630; Sil. 7.66;

and its opposite in Vergil's aged Entellus A. 5.395 f. *gelidus tardante senecta | sanguis hebet, frigentque effetae in corpore uires*) and to their capacity for rage (as at Enn. *Ann.* 95 Sk.; Sen. *Dial.* 4.19.3; Verg. A. 9.422).

spirantia corpora: brought into the imprecations of Thiodamas at Stat. *Theb.* 8.235 *ne rape tam subitis spirantia corpora bustis*.

364 et dum pila ualent fortes torquere lacerti: For the phrase, see 363 n. Lucan draws on Ov. *Fast.* 2.11–16, but has transformed a negative concession into a positive affirmation, and made the declaration to follow Caesar literal rather than poetic:

si mihi non ualido torquentur pila lacerto
nec bellatoris terga premuntur equi,
nec galea tegimur, nec acuto cingimur ense
(his habilis telis quilibet esse potest),
at tua prosequimur studioso pectore, Caesar,
nomina, per titulos ingredimurque tuos.

pila...torquere: the collocation is old as Pl. *Cur.* 689 f. *ego ex te hodie faciam pilum catapultarium | atque ita te neruo torquebo, itidem ut catapultae solent*; cf. B. *Afr.* 16.3; Ov. *Fast.* 2.11; Sen. *Dial.* 5.2.4; Luc. 2.556; Sil. 4.629. The verb and its compounds are particular favourites of Vergil for 'hurling' spears (Hardie (1994) on Verg. A. 9.534).

ualent...lacerti: as at Sen. *Dial.* 1.4.13: *sic sunt nauticis corpora ferendo mari dura, agricolis manus tritae, ad excutienda tela militares lacerti ualent, agilia sunt membra cursoribus: id in quoque solidissimum est quod exercuit*. It is reused at Sil. 11.392.

fortes...lacerti: (again at 9.780) the phrase is Ovidian (*Am.* 2.5.47; *Ep.* 9.59; *Ibis* 395).

fortes torquere: the explanatory infinitive after adjectives not based upon participles (although appearing in Plautus and probably native to Latin) is used with increasing frequency by poets toward the end of the first century BC to circumvent more cumbersome constructions and most likely on the analogy of Greek constructions such as δέξιος λέγειν (NLS# 26; Coleman (1977) on Verg. *Ecl.* 5.1–2).

365 degenerem patiere togam regnumque senatus: the second clause explains the application of the adjective in the first. The

comparanda assembled by Housman and Getty (Luc. 2.522 f. 3.367, 5.381 f., 9.4, 10.441) amply support the notion that *degener toga* means 'private life that is unworthy of you' (cf. *OLD toga* 4a). Though the contexts are different, Laelius hits at the same aristocratic principles with which Domitius will later reproach himself: that he is returning to the city in a state of subservience to an unworthy higher power (in Domitius' case, Caesar himself) (cf. Fantham on 2.522–5).

patiere . . . regnum: was developed into a *sententia* at Sen. *Thy.* 470 *immane regnum est posse sine regno pati*; it is here compounded further into the compressed paradox of a *regnum senatus. patiere regnum* is also used in this sense at Curt. 4.1.25.

366 usque adeo: Lucretian (37x).

usque adeo miserum est ciuili uincere bello: the rationalizing aim of the *sententia* is demolished by irony imported from its intertextual source. The phrase at Verg. *A.* 12.646 *usque adeone mori miserum est* is the cornerstone of Turnus' realization that his life is less important than the preservation of his city. The phrase is here shorn of its attendant nobility, along with the resolve it articulates to die an *anima inscia culpa* and worthy of one's ancestors' approval. It is further warped by Laelius into arguing Caesar into actions that are completely antithetical to those Turnus is contemplating. Compare the original context at *A.* 12.643–9:

exscindine domos (id rebus defuit unum)
perpetiar, dextra nec Drancis dicta refellam?
terga dabo et Turnum fugientem haec terra uidebit?
usque adeone mori miserum est? uos o mihi, Manes,
este boni, quoniam superis auersa uoluntas.
sancta ad uos anima atque istius inscia culpa
descendam magnorum haud umquam indignus auorum.

The fact that Laelius has merely substituted the noun clause *ciuili uincere bello* for Turnus' *mori* makes the irony of the intertextual relationship all the more pointed.

367–72 Leigh 205 and nn. 39–44 notes in these lines echoes of lyric and elegiac presentations of the devoted loyalty of companion friends (as at Catull. 11.1–14), of the *propemptikon* (Prop. 1.6.3–4), of the

epicedion (as at Stat. *Silu.* 5.1.127–34), and of the devotion of the elegiac lover (Verg. *Ecl.* 10.44–9, 64–8; Ov. *Am.* 1.9.9–14, 2.16.15–32; Ars. 2.229–32; Sen. *Phaed.* 609–16). Laelius’ passionate loyalty thus continues and extends the elegiac nuances imported at 362, and the dynamic of extreme loyalty found in Caesar’s own writings (for which see Leigh 191–202).

367–8 *duc age per...per... | ...per:* *age* thus used is a feature of lively colloquial language and is often found in comedy (Austin (1977) on Verg. *A.* 6.343). Through a combination of the formula *duc age* and the following tricolon crescendo with anaphora of *per*, Laelius’ appeal becomes more direct, taking on some of the urgency we observe at Verg. *G.* 4.358; Ov. *Ars* 2.498; *Tr.* 3.1.25; and later at Stat. *Theb.* 11.706 (see too Thomas (1988) on Verg. *G.* 4.358).

Scythiae populos...inhospita Syrtis | litora...calidas Libyae sitientis harenas: periphrasis for east (*Scythiae populos*) and south (*Syrtis | litora...Libyae...harenas*) as at 15–18. That is virtually (since Caesar’s army has already come from the north at 370f.) over the whole world. Laelius both looks to the potentially universal geographical scope of the civil war (15–18 nn.) and alludes to the main spheres of operations to come in the epic: east against Pompey in books five to eight (15–18 nn.) and south against Cato in books nine to ten; *duc age per Scythiae populos... | ...per...Libyae harenas* looks in more specific terms to the march of Cato through Libya in book nine.

367 *Scythiae populos:* repeated at 3.267 in the catalogue of Pompey’s eastern forces.

367–8 *inhospita Syrtis | litora:* conventional details regarding the notoriously treacherous coastal shallows off North Africa. Here, they underscore the unforgiving nature of the North African landscape (Verg. *A.* 4.41; Ov. *Met.* 8.120; Plin. *Nat.* 5.26–41; cf. also [Quint.] *Decl.* 12.22). *Syrtis* is genitive along with *Scythiae* and *Libyae*: Housman compares the form at Sen. *Thy.* 292; Sil. 1.408. Lucan also has the form *Syrtidos* at 9.710. *inhospita litora* is used at Ov. *Tr.* 3.11.7 (of Pontus) and at Sil. 2.23 (of Saguntum under occupation by Hannibal).

368 *litora:* unusual in this position (76 n.).

calidas...harenas: again isolated as a defining feature of North Africa at 4.616 and at Sil. 3.281 (cf. 205 n.).

Libyae: Lucan has both forms of the genitive, Greek (206, 255) and Latin (here), but there is no need here (Getty; WB; Gagliardi) to break from Ω . Barratt (1979) on Luc. 5.39 is incorrect to state that Lucan prefers the Greek *Libyes* to the Latin *Libyae*: the latter is used nearly twice as frequently (4x:7x).

Libyae sitientis harenas: adapted from Sen. *Med.* 681 f. *feruentis... | harena Libyae. sitiens Libys* is reused at Sil. 1.657; cf. the descriptions at Plin. *Nat.* 9.38, 31.78.

369 haec manus: it seems more natural to take this as meaning 'this army', with Braund (*OLD* 22a) than 'these hands of ours' (Housman; Getty) Stat. *Theb.* 4.63 supports the former.

orbem: 'a part of the world' (as at Sen. *Suas.* 1.3.16; *OLD* 13a). Not Britain (Getty), but Gaul: Britain was left conspicuously *inuictus* by Caesar's abortive invasion and the islands and its peoples were proverbially considered *toto diuisos orbe* (Verg. *Ecl.* 1.66); cf. Catul. 11.11 f.; Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.29 f.; Vell. 2.46.1; Coleman (1977) on Verg. *Ecl.* 1.66.

uictum...orbem: reused at Juv. 6.293 *luxuria incubuit uictumque ulciscitur orbem*.

post terga relinqueret: again at 2.628, 4.353; a poetic formula (perhaps suggested by Verg. *A.* 2.57 *post terga reuinctum*) since Ov. *Met.* 2.187, 10.670; *Fast.* 4.281; *Pedo poet.* 1; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5.507; Sil. 16.335, 396; Juv. 13.16.

370 Oceani tumidas...undas: conflates the Ovidian *tumida unda* (*Fast.* 3.595; *Tr.* 1.5.77; *Ibis* 275) with the Vergilian *Oceani unda* (*A.* 8.589).

conpescuit undas: *conpescere* is normally used of emotional states (*OLD* 5b). This is an image drawn from Hor. *Ep.* 1.2.16 (*mare*) and undoubtedly influenced by the form at *Carm.* 2.14.9 *conpescere undā*; Ov. *Met.* 4.102.

371 fregit et Arctoo spumantem uertice Rhenum: Caesar crossed the river twice, in 55 and 53. *frango* is here used (as at 5.440, 5.646, 8.374) in the sense of crossing (cf. Sen. *Oed.* 428; *TLL* 6.1.1244.61–74). The scene is infused with a hint of personification

(cf. *OLD uertex* 2a; as at *patria* at 188 *turrigero* . . . *uertice*) with details adapted from Verg. *G.* 4.529 *spumantem undam sub uertice torsit*; cf. Sil. 3.475 (on the river Durance), 9.286 (on the sea).

372 *iussa sequi*: the simple form of the verb for the compound *exsequi*; cf. Verg. *A.* 4.396. On simple for compound forms see Introd. §8(a); Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.34–5 with references.

tam posse mihi quam uelle necesse est: the paradox is expressed in a form of *hysteron proteron* ('to be able and willing') that reserves the unexpected element until the end of the line (*uelle necesse est*). The play on free will and obligation contained in *uelle necesse* is previously articulated at Sen. *Her. F.* 368 f. *pacem reduci uelle* . . . | *uicto necesse est*; Ben. 6.21.3. Laelius' necessity arises from the fact that Caesar's supporters are now *hostes*. *necesse est* is redolent of Lucretius.

373–4 *nec ciuis meus est, in quem tua classica, Caesar, | audiero*: not only the necessary co-requisite of Curio's statement at 297 *tua nos faciet uictoria ciues*, but a return to and inversion of one of the enduring themes of the epic: 2 *ius datum sceleri*. The possessive adjectives *meus* and *tua* emphasize Caesar's role as the arbiter of what constitutes *ciuis* and *hostis*, and divest Laelius—perhaps in a quasi-legal sense (cf. the technical phrase '*meus est*' for asserting a legal claim, as at e.g. Ov. *Am.* 1.4.40)—of responsibility for any possible consequences (graphically explored in the following lines) arising from this distinction. The reality of this declaration is tragically played out in Spain at 4.168–253, where we might compare the narrator's condemnation of the terms of Laelius' manifesto at 4.186–8 *classica det bello, saeuos tu neclege cantus; | signa ferat, cessa: iam iam ciuilis Erinys | concidet et Caesar generum priuatus amabit*.

373 *nec ciuis meus est*: adapted at Juv. 4.90 in a damning character sketch of L. Iunius Q. Vibius Crispus.

373–4 *tua classica, Caesar, | audiero*: cf. Verg. *G.* 2.538–40 on the Golden Age *aureus hanc uitam in terris Saturnus agebat; | necdum etiam audierant inflari classica, necdum | impositos duris crepitare incudibus ensis*.

374 *signa decem felicia castris*: the precise meaning of *decem castris* has caused trouble. It may be an extension of the use of *castra* in

temporal contexts, usually 'a day's march' (*OLD* 4a), but here extended to mean a year and therefore corresponding to Caesar's ten years in Gaul. In this case *decem castris* would be ablative of time as at 283 and 300. Or else it could be brachylogy for *castris decem annorum*, used of Troy at Prop. 3.12.25 (Hudson-Williams (1984) 452). It is unlikely (Getty) to be dative with *felicia* and an extension of the use of *castra* in metonymy to refer to 'the occupants of a camp' (*OLD* 1d), here meaning 'legions' and referring to the ten legions ascribed by Plut. *Pomp.* 58 to Caesar at the termination of his Gallic command (however, Cic. *Att.* 7.7.6 has the number at eleven). The former two are preferable because of the temporal phrases at 283, 300. *signa felicia* is Ovidian: *Met.* 7.621; *Tr.* 1.7.3.

375 *perque tuos... quocumque ex hoste triumphos*: looks from the Gallic victories alluded to in the previous line to Caesar's forthcoming battles against Roman enemies (cf. *Comm. Bern. etiam de Romano*); *triumphos* is 'victories' (*OLD* 4). Laelius spends the rest of his speech illustrating this principle.

376–82 Laelius swears, in three conditional clauses, to massacre his own family, to desecrate the temples of the gods, and to besiege his own fatherland, should Caesar bid him (377 *iubeas*, to be understood as governing the infinitives in each protasis). Note too the careful arrangement of the clauses, in which the first has three, the second two, and the last only one element in the apodosis: civil war is both the climax and the ultimate reduction of all of these horrors.

376–8 The demonstration of loyalty begins in tricolon clauses of increasing horror (*pectore... fratris; iugulo parentis; in uiscera... coniugis*), in which he claims his willingness to slaughter the members of his own family.

376–7 *pectore si fratris gladium iuguloque parentis | condere me iubeas*: the sentiments retain much of the tragic colouring of Ov. *Met.* 13.458 f. (on the sacrifice of Polyxena) '*nulla mora est; at tu iugulo uel pectore telum | conde meo' iugulumque simul pectusque retexit*'. Both Ovid and Lucan preserve the physical details of Eur. *Hec.* 563–5 Ἰδού, τόδ', εἰ μὲν στέρνον, ὧ νεανία, | παίειν προθυμῇ, παῖσον, εἰ δ' ὑπ' αὐχένα | χρήζεις πάρεστι λαιμὸς εὐτρεπῆς ὄδε. Lucan is fond of coupling *pectus* and *iugulum* as targets for the blade:

4.561 f., 6.160 f., 7.182, 7.669 f.; cf. also Sen. *Oed.* 1036 f. *utrumne pectori infigam meo | telum an patenti conditum iugulo inprimam?* After Lucan: Sil. 11.354–6; Tac. *Ann.* 11.38.

pectore ... fratris: the physical detail reappears as the focal point of fratricide at 7.182, 7.626, wherein Pharsalus proves Laelius' hypothetical hyperbole as the tragic fact of civil war. *iugulum parentis* is adapted from Hor. S. 2.3.136 *in matris iugulo ferrum tepefecit acutum*.

pectore ... gladium ... | condere: variation on Verg. A. 9.347 f. *pectore in aduerso ... ensem | condidit*; 12.950 *ferrum aduerso sub pectore condit*; cf. also Ov. *Met.* 13.458 f. and Sen. *Oed.* 1036 f. (quoted *ad* 376). After Lucan: Stat. *Theb.* 1.613 f. *ferrumque ingens sub pectore duro | condidit*. *iugulo condere* is found again at [Sen.] *Oct.* 733, 752; Sil. 2.259 f.

377 plenaque in uiscera partu | coniugis, ... peragam ... dextra: for the image of killing the unborn child in the womb, cf. Agamemnon's threat of total massacre at Hom. *Il.* 6.57–60, an allusion which ominously anticipates the evacuation of Rome at 466–509 as a narrative of *Iliupersis*. Laelius' promised slaughter of his family is as close as imaginable to suicide, and fittingly echoes the programme announced at line 3 *in sua uictrici conuersum uiscera dextra*.

uiscera: Lucan uses *uiscus* of the womb (*OLD* 3b) again at 2.340, 3.604, 5.79; the use seems Ovidian: *Fast.* 1.624; cf. Sen. *Nat.* 3.25.11.

378 coniugis: elevated diction for 'wife' (Adams (1972) 252–5).

inuita peragam tamen omnia dextra: revisits in a concrete context the declaration at 372: *inuita* corresponds closely to *uelle necesse est*. Laelius feigns the reluctant compliance of Iphigenia at Ov. *Pont.* 3.2.66 *inuita peragens tristia sacra manu*, but his pretence is belied by his change in mood from subjunctive in the protasis (377 *iubeas*) to emphatic future indicatives in each apodosis (378 *peragam*; 380 *miscebit*; 382 *ueniam*).

tamen: supply *quamuis* before *inuita* (as at 292, 333).

379–80 The demonstration now progresses outward from the hearth to state religion, and Laelius' willingness to desecrate places of worship. The words of Seneca's Oedipus at *Phoen.* 338–45, encouraging his sons to civil war and to similar abominations against their *patria*, have particular resonance in this declaration:

scelere defungi haut leui,
 haut usitato tanta nobilitas potest.
 fert arma, facibus petite penetrales deos
 frugemque flamma metite natalis soli,
 miscete cuncta, rapite in exitium omnia,
 disicite passim moenia, in planum date,
 templis deos obruite, maculatos lares
 conflante, ab imo tota considat domus;

379 spoliare deos: Getty's suggestion that *deos* is *templa deorum* blunts the shocking edge of Laelius' sacrilege. Religious theft carried with it a particular taboo, even when perpetrated against foreign enemies, as committed by Pleminius at Locri (Liv. 29.8.9–21) and Marcellus against the Ambracians (Liv. 38.43.5 with Walsh (1993) ad loc.). Livy contends that this religious theft perpetrated against foreigners was the beginning of a process that ultimately manifested itself in relation to Rome's own gods at 25.40.2 *hinc* [i.e. Marcellus' removal to Rome of Syracusan artworks in 212] *sacra profanaque omnia uolgo spoliandi factum est, quae postremo in Romanos deos...uertit*. Laelius offers to commit acts worse than those of Verres (Cic. Ver. 2.1.47, 2.4.123) or Heius (Cic. Ver. 2.4.11). *spoliare deos* is Ciceronian (cf. also *N. D.* 1.102).

ignemque inmittere templis: cf. Pers. 2.62 *templis nostros inmittere mores*.

380 The implication is that Caesar will melt down precious metal statues of the gods in order to fund his campaign. We have seen that this was a crime foretold by Oedipus of his sons at Sen. *Phoen.* 344 f. (379–80 n.), but there are other parallels: Sen. *Dial.* 2.4.2; Lucian. *Juppiter confutatus*. 8. The anecdote at Suet. Nero 32.4 clearly postdates Lucan's suicide: *ultimo templis compluribus dona detraxit simulacraque ex auro uel argento fabricata conflauit, in iis Penatium deorum, quae mox Galba restituit*.

numina miscebit: a very odd expression. The *numen* is here the statue of the god (apparently an extension from OLD 4b 'the god himself'). This seems to be the first use of *misceo* to mean 'melt' (*TLL* 8.1080.55–8): after here it finds favour at Plin. *Nat.* 33.130, 34.140, 34.160.

castrensis...monetae: the military mint (*OLD moneta* 2).

381–2 Laelius' oath reaches its climax in his willingness to besiege Rome itself.

381 **Tusci...Thybridis:** a fusion of *Tuscius Tiberis* (as at Verg. G. 1.499) and *Lydius Thybris* (as at Verg. A. 2.781 f.); again at Sil. 17.14. The form *Thybris* is Etruscan in origin (Skutsch (1985) on Enn. *Ann.* 26 Sk.). The geographical scope of Laelius' military operations has constricted from the edge of the known world, the *Oceani...undas* (370), to the *Thybridis...undas*. Lucan has only the form *Thybris* (again at 2.421, 6.76, 6.810), but allows the adjectival form *Tiberinus* (475, 2.216).

382 A golden line marks the climax of Laelius' tricolon of consecutive clauses.

Hesperios...agros: again where Pompey describes the effect of Caesar's invasion at 2.534 *ardent Hesperii saeuus populatibus agri*.

ueniam...in agros: adapted at Juv. 3.321 f. *saturarum ego, ni pudet illas, | auditor gelidos ueniam caligatus in agros*.

metator: one who measures out a city or, as here, a military camp.

383 **in planum effundere muros:** *effundere* is 'to overturn (buildings etc.)' (*OLD* 13a); cf. Stat. *Theb.* 3.250 *effundam turre;* Tac. *Ann.* 4.62. To level buildings *in planum* is Senecan: *Phoen.* 343 *disicite passim moenia, in planum date;* Ag. 84–6 *domos, | quas in planum quaelibet hora | tulit ex alto*.

384 **aries actus disperget saxa lacertis:** Laelius' insistence upon the strength of his arms (cf. 364) obscures the fact that battering rams were either rolled on logs or suspended in a swing-like structure. This fact, and the realization of Laelius' offer, is found in the siege of Massilia at 3.490–2 *nunc aries suspenso fortior ictu | incussus densi conpagem soluere muri | temptat et inpositis unum subducere saxis*. Hunink (1992) on Luc. 3.490 notes BC's frequent mention of the weapon (here, 6.36, 6.200, 8.377, 10.480).

385–6 **illa licet... | Roma sit:** the speech ends where it began at 359 f. *si licet...Romani...rector nominis*.

385 *penitus tolli*: 'to be razed utterly' (*OLD penitus* 5). Coupled again to describe the object of Sulla's civil war at 2.229 *inuisas penitus... tollere partes*; cf. Sen. *Her. F.* 350 *stat tollere omnem penitus Herculeam domum*.

quam... urbem: the noun is attracted into the case of its relative pronoun, as though it were part of the relative clause (cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 1.573; LHS 567 f.).

386 *Roma sit*: enjambment and its position at the end of the sentence assists in the climactic naming of the city as object of Laelius' siege.

386–91 The reaction of Caesar's troops. Neither the rationalizing approach of Caesar (299–351) nor the self-conscious justifications of Pompey (2.531–95) will have the same immediate effect of energizing the soldiery as does the *furor* of Laelius.

386 *his: dictis*.

adsensere: the active form of the verb is much less frequent than the deponent, but is used exclusively in epic (Austin (1964) on Verg. *A.* 2.130).

387–8 *elatasque alte...promisere manus*: the general soldiery not only shout their assent (386 *his cunctae...adsensere cohortes*), but demonstrate it physically. The gesture (playing off Laelius' rhetorical reference to *haec manus* at 369) is a pledge of service (cf. Verg. *A.* 12.258 *expediunt...manus* with Serv. ad loc.) found in these terms again at Stat. *Theb.* 4.353, 6.663; Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.102; Flor. *Epit.* 1.6. *elatasque alte* is an Ovidian tautology: *Met.* 12.248; cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 9.523; Suet. *Cal.* 32.3. The adverb is frequent in Vergil and poetic since Ennius (Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.850).

387 *quaecumque ad bella*: looks back to the words of Laelius at 367 f., 375 *quocumque ex hoste*, 383 *quoscumque uoles effundere muros*.

388 *it...clamor*: a frequent phrase in the *Aeneid*, but one that often occurs in ill-omened contexts. Aside from its positive context at 9.664 (Apollo urges the Trojans back to their defence of the camp), it usually marks a much less reassuring event: 4.665, the discovery of Dido's suicide; 5.451, anxiety/surprise at Entellus' fall; 8.595, Pallas

rides off to war; 11.192, lamentation at the burial of the Trojan dead; 12.409, the sound of the approaching battle as Aeneas is unable to be healed of his wound. After Lucan, it is found again at Stat. *Theb.* 3.593 to mark the enthusiasm for Polynices' assault against Thebes and at Sil. 2.417 of the hunt preceding Aeneas' union with Dido. Vergil has both *ad aethera* (A. 12.409) and *caelo* (A. 5.541, 11.192) in this context; Sil. 2.417 and Stat. *Theb.* 3.593 both have *ad auras*.

389–91 Only Lucan and Statius (*Theb.* 3.594–7, the roar of the Tyrrhenian sea, or of Mount Aetna) follow the phrase *it clamor* with a simile to illustrate its magnitude; at both places Gigantomachic nuances obtrude (389 *piniferae*... *Ossae*; Stat. *Theb.* 3.594 f. *aut ubi temptat | Enceladus mutare latus*).

389 piniferae... *Ossae*: *pinifer*, again at 2.431 of the Apennines, is by now a standard poetic epithet of mountains: first at Verg. *Ecl.* 10.14 (Maenalus); A. 4.249 (Atlas), 10.708 (Vesulus); Ov. *Pont.* 1.8.43 (the ranges along the Flaminian and Clodian Ways); Sen. *Ag.* 339 (Olympus); Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.12 (Ida); Sil. 4.742 (the Apennines), 5.614 (the mountains around Lake Trasimene). For Lucan and compound adjectives, see 48 n.

Boreas... **Thracius**: since Homer, Thrace is the home of the winds (cf. *Il.* 9.5: also as a simile); Hes. *Op.* 553 Θρηκίου Βορέω; adopted into Latin at Ov. *Ars.* 2.431; Germ. *Arat.* 242; after Lucan: Sil. 1.587; cf. also the genealogy at Verg. A. 10.350 *tris quoque Threiciis Boreae de gente suprema* (NH on Hor. *Carm.* 1.25.11). *Thracius* is a conventional epithet for 'northern' (as at e.g. Hor. *Epod.* 13.3; *Carm.* 1.25.11 f.; Getty) but, given the explicit mention of mount Ossa in Thrace, we may be permitted to take the text at its word here.

390–1 pressae | ... siluae: the arrangement of adjective and noun at line end help resolve the simile, sentence, and passage.

390 rupibus incubuit: cf. Verg. A. 1.84 [*uenti*] *incubuerunt mari*; Sen. *Ag.* 474–6; V. Fl. 2.59 f. The perfect tense is used in a generalizing clause of repeated action (*NLS*# 217 (2c)).

curuato robore: ablative of attendant circumstances.

391 fit sonus: echoes 388 *it... clamor*; cf. also the noise emerging from Vergil's oak tree, beset by *Alpini Boreae* at A. 4.443 *it stridor*.

rursus redeuntis: for the pleonasm, see 74 n.
in aethera: recalls 388 *ad aethera*.

392–465 THE CATALOGUE OF GALLIC TRIBES

Caesar summons his troops, stationed throughout Gaul, to war; a catalogue of now unguarded Gallic tribes ensues.

Convention and paradox in Lucan's first catalogue

Catalogues are established as a fundamental set piece of epic poetry from Homer onwards. Their original purpose was to identify individual participants who will figure in the action of the epic, and to indicate that a vaster geographic scope than the narrative will allow is involved in the outcome of the poem. The *Iliad* contains two: the catalogue of Greek ships and Trojan allies at *Il.* 2.484–760, 817–77 and a smaller catalogue of Myrmidons at 16.168–97; Choerilus of Samos (*Suppl. Hell.* 319–20) provides a list of the tribes who crossed the Hellespont from Persia; Ap. Rhod. 1.20–228 catalogues the individual Argonauts. In Latin epic, Ennius lists Italian military contingents (*Ann.* 229 Sk.); Vergil, following Homeric precedent, also has two catalogues: one of Italian forces at *A.* 7.641–817 and a smaller scale list of Etruscans sailing with Aeneas at 10.163–214.

BC thus has a long tradition to draw upon, and plays off reader expectation to fashion a catalogue that is at once consistent with its literary inheritance and at the same time unique within its genre. The main formal influence at work here is *Iliad* 2. This is observed in the positioning of the catalogue after Caesar has confirmed the loyalty of his troops, just as the Homeric catalogue of Greek ships follows on from the *Diapira*. However, the expectation of a laudatory description of the individual heroes of Caesar's army and their contingents, after the fashion of the *Iliad*, is immediately frustrated. Instead, we are presented with what Williams (1978) 222 has called 'a catalogue in reverse': *BC* lists not the troops who will fight in the upcoming narrative, but the various nations of Gaul who will be

left unguarded by Caesar's summoning of the army into civil war (Martindale (1976) 50 calls it a 'drily scientific disquisition on the peoples of Gaul'). Batinski (1992) 19–24 has demonstrated how throughout 396–465 traditional motifs of the epic catalogue—origin, physical appearance, prowess in battle, skill with a particular weapon, and character—are all applied to the Gallic tribes rather than to Caesar's own army. Nor are any individuals named in the catalogue (except single Gauls who represent their nation by metonymy), a technique that will anticipate the anonymity that marks the major battle sequences of the epic and inverts the heroic code of the *Iliad* (see Gorman (2001) 263–90). Related to this reworking of its epic inheritance is the fact that *BC*'s catalogue occupies more restricted geographic scope than does the actual subject matter of the poem: the wider significance of its narrative is explicit, not implied. By this insistent description of foreign tribes where generic convention requires an army that will participate in the epic's subject matter, the catalogue reflects and reinforces the narrator's presentation of Caesar as a *hostis* (Batinski (1992) 23 f.). It implies an equation between the peoples described and the soldiers under Caesar's command; also, it taints Caesar with the barbarity and enmity described at 396–465. Caesar's hostility to Rome is explicitly stated at 395 *Romam...petit* and this same status is extended to his army at 464 *petitis Romam*. The act of abandonment itself is underscored in the first and last verb of the catalogue proper (396 *deseruere*; 465 *deseritis*); in the joyous response of the Gauls to their liberation (402 *soluuntur...statione*; 403–5 *gaudet*; 422–35 *gaudetque amoto...hoste*; 441–9 *laetatus*); in their implied return to arms at 398, 463–5; and in the final apostrophe of the catalogue at 465 *deseritis...apertum gentibus orbem*.

Lucan catalogues 20 tribes by name and alludes to others by geographic periphrases and mention of natural features throughout Gaul and Germany: two mountain ranges, a lake, a city, a coastline, three gods, and eight rivers also find inclusion and add variation. Throughout the catalogue note the cumulative 'list effect' created by the frequency of lines which have epithets and nouns in agreement at the main caesura and last place in the line (398, 401–3, 423, 429 f., 445 f., 448 f., 457, 463). In conjunction with these elements, three digressions of increasing length—on the winds that affect anchorage at Monaco (406–8); on the cause of coastal tides (412–19); on the

Druidic belief in reincarnation (452–62)—enliven the passage in the same manner as does antiquarian material and mythological digression in the traditional epic catalogue (Harrison (1991) 107). Livy book 103 may have been a source for this catalogue, but Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* seems to provide the main principle of inclusion for the tribes featured (425 n.): 17 of the 20 Gallic peoples mentioned by name feature in his Gallic commentary. As Lucan elsewhere rewrites the civil war commentaries of Caesar, here there is a sense of confronting and undercutting Caesar's account of his own achievements in his Gallic campaigns.

392 Caesar: a new stage of narrative commences and is announced by Caesar's name (466 n.).

acceptum...prono milite: *acceptum* is used with the ablative instead of the metrically intractable dative (*OLD* 1b).

tam prono milite: as their general has been since 292 f. *ipsi [duci] | in bellum prono.*

393 fataque ferre: the imagery is from navigation: cf. the 'carrying wind' at Hom. *Od.* 3.300, 5.111, 7.277 *φέρων ἄνεμος* and elsewhere; Verg. *A.* 3.130, 473, 4.430 *exspectet facilemque fugam uentosque ferentis* (Pease (1935) on Verg. *A.* 4.430 with further references; Austin (1955) on Verg. *A.* 4.430).

393–4 nequo languore moretur | fortunam: as he did, momentarily, at the Rubicon at 194 *languor in extrema tenuit uestigia ripa*. This drive forward does not just return to a fundamental element in Caesar's characterization (148 f. *instare fauori | numinis*); but corresponds to exhortations from Curio and Laelius not to delay at 280 f. and 360 f. There may also be here a distant reflection of the ultimate surviving source of the epic catalogue, *Iliad* 2. Compare the emphasis upon speed in Nestor's advice, which immediately precedes Agamemnon's summoning of his troops at Hom. *Il.* 2.434–40:

Ἀτρεΐδῃ κύδιστε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον,
μηκέτι νῦν δὴθ' αὖθι λεγώμεθα, μηδ' ἔτι δηρὸν
ἀμβαλλώμεθα ἔργον ὃ δὴ θεὸς ἐγγυαλίζει.
ἀλλ' ἄγε κήρυκες μὲν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων
λαὸν κηρύσσοντες ἀγειρόντων κατὰ νῆας,

ἡμεῖς δ' ἄθροοι ὄδε κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν
 ἴομεν ὄφρα κε θάσσω ἐγείρομεν ὄξυν Ἀργεα.

393 *languore moretur*: cf. Ov. *Met.* 9.767 (Telethusa) *nunc ficto languore moram trahit*.

394 *sparsas per Gallica rura cohortes*: language reprised in Pompey's instruction to his son Gnaeus to assemble the pirates against Caesar at 2.635 f. *sparsos per rura colonos | redde mari Cilicas*; cf. 2.395 *spargere . . . partes*; 2.682 *spargatque . . . bellum*. The ultimate result of these assemblies will be *sparsas per Thessala rura | . . . clades* at Pharsalus (7.650 f.).

Gallica rura: only here, 2.429 and Sil. 4.644 f.

395 *euocat*: a technical military term (*OLD* 3c; *TLL* 5.2.1057–58.8).

Romam motis petit undique signis: the bald statement is revised at 466–8. *Romam . . . petit*; it anticipates the conclusion of the catalogue at 463 f. *et uos, crinigeros Belgis arcere Caycos | oppositi, petitis Romam*; and is reiterated of Caesar throughout the epic: 3.73 *tecta petit patriae*; 5.381 *petit trepidam . . . Romam*.

motis . . . undique signis: *undique* anticipates and is explained by the catalogue that follows. *motis signis* is Livian: 21.35.7, 37.4.10.

396–465 The catalogue of forces.

396 *deseruere*: repeated as the last verb of the catalogue at 465 *deseritis ripas et apertum gentibus orbem*; it establishes from the outset the polemical tone of the passage.

cauo . . . Lemanno: *cauius* is used of rivers and other bodies of water to mean either 'deep-channelled' or merely 'deep' (*OLD* 2c; cf. *TLL* 3.716.39–49).

tentoria fixa: *figo* is 'to fix in position' (*OLD* 5a). *tentoria* is prosaic, favoured by Lucan (13x in *BC*; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1x; Ov. *Met.* 2x; V. Fl. 2x; Stat. *Theb.* 4x; Sil. 10x), and stands for *castra* by metonymy. The phrase is reused by Silius of Hannibal's camp outside the walls of Rome at 12.746.

397 *castraque . . . Vosegi curuam super ardua ripam*: the form of *Vosegus* (as opposed *ΩVogesus*) is supported at Caes. *Gal.* 4.10.1; Plin. *Nat.* 16.1.97; and circumstantially by Sil. 4.213 (applied to the name of

a Gaul). There is no need (Getty, WB) to suppose that Lucan mistook the *Vosegus* mountain range for a river: *castra . . . ardua* (again at Sil. 3.556 of Hannibal's camp in the Alps) reflects geographical reality. Nor is there need to emend *ripam* to *rupem* (Grotius, Lejay): the present line may be influenced by Caesar's own mistaken geographical detail at *Gal.* 4.10.1 *Mosa profluit ex monte Vosego, qui est in finibus Lingonum*; the *ripa* here could be that of the Moselle, whose meandering source is in the *Vosegus*. Silius reuses *curua ripa* of the river Aufidus at 9.219.

398 pugnaces pictis cohibebant Lingonas armis: for the winter of 53–52, Caesar quartered two legions *in Lingonibus* (Caes. *Gal.* 6.44.3, 7.9.4). Housman vacillated between nominative and accusative case for *Lingonas*, but the moral overtones of the catalogue require the accusative since, by abandoning the camp that had formerly contained (*cohibebant*) the *pugnaces Lingones* (passing over the fact that the *Lingones* lay between Rome and the *Vosegus*), the Roman legions exposed their world to attack: 465 *deseritis . . . apertum gentibus orbem*. Likewise, it is this moral content of the catalogue that forces the epithet *pugnaces* (it is formerly found with the ablative at Liv. 22.37.8 *Mauros pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes*): in fact the *Lingones* remained faithful to their allegiance in 52 amid the uprising of Vercingetorix (Caes. *Gal.* 7.63.7). The adjective may allude to their presence among the Gallic tribes that settled the Po Valley in the fourth century (Liv. 5.35.2). Although Diod. Sic. 5.30.2 alludes to the Gallic custom of painting their shields (Getty), it may be more important in the present context that Livy mentions this detail in his pointed comparison of the armour of T. Manlius and those of his Gallic opponent at 7.10.7 *corpus alteri magnitudine eximium, uersicolori ueste pictisque et auro caelatis refulgens armis; media in altero militaris statura modicaque in armis habilibus magis quam decoris species*; more relevant still are the *picta arma* of epic convention: Verg. *A.* 7.796 (Labici), 8.588 (Pallas), 11.660 (Amazons), 12.281 (Arcadians); Sil. 8.466 (Piso), 14.496 (Podaetus). *arma* are 'shields' by synecdoche (Getty; cf. Serv. *A.* 4.494). For the epic convention of idiosyncratic or identificatory armour and clothing in catalogues see Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.169–70 with references.

399 liquerunt: returns to the imagery of abandonment established at 396 *deseruere*. The language of leaving one's place of origin is very

much at home in the catalogue (cf. e.g. Aech. *Pers.* 16–18; Ap. Rhod. 1.40, 105; Verg. *Aen.* 7.670, 676, 728, 10.168; after Lucan V. Fl.): *TLL* 7.2.1460.52–4; Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.167–8.

Isarae: the Isère, a tributary of the Rhone. There is no need (Getty and previously at (1936) 59 f.; WB) to suppose that Lucan is thinking of the Arar (mentioned at 434). The impetus to look for another river because ‘the language of 399–401 suggests a river which flows gently and the Arar but not the Isara suits this description’ is not only erroneous with regard to the Latin used at 399–401, but is based on a false assumption of Lucan’s geographical ignorance, and overlooks the earlier, simultaneous description of the Rubicon as *paruus* (185, 213) and *tumidus* (204), while at 217 *uires praebebat hiems atque auxerat undas* (Semple (1937) 19 f.).

399–400 gurgite... | **suo:** *suo* is emphatic and looks forward to the contrast of the next clause. There is an echo of Verg. *A.* 9.816 (Tiber, of Turnus) *suo cum gurgite flauo* | *accepit*.

ductus: ‘runs’ with reference to the line and length of the river, not (Getty, WB) simple for the compound *deductus* (Semple (1937) 19).

400 per tam multa: supply *uada*, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, from 399.

400–1 Cf. the river Cinga at 4.21–3 *Cinga rapax, uetitus fluctus et litora cursu* | *Oceani pepulisse tuo; nam gurgite mixto* | *qui praestat terris aufert tibi nomen Hiberus*; and the Titaresus at 6.375 f. *solus, in alterius nomen cum uenerit undae,* | *defendit Titaresos aquas*. Conversely, cf. the tendency of the Danube at 2.418–20 *non minor hic [Eridanus] Histro, nisi quod, dum permeat orbem,* | *Hister casuros in quaelibet aequora fontes* | *accipit et Scythicas exit non solus in undas*, and the Nile at 10.253 f. *tunc omnia flumina Nilus* | *uno fonte uomens non uno gurgite perfert*. The motif appears before Lucan at Ov. *Fast.* 4.337 f. *in Tiberim qua lubricus influit Almo* | *et nomen magno perdit in amne minor*; after Lucan it reappears at Sil. 3.452–4 *Arar, quem gurgitibus complexus anhelis* | *cunctantem immergit pelago raptumque per arua* | *ferre uetat patrium uicina ad litora nomen*.

famae maioris in amnem: the Rhone. Silius adapts the phrase at 11.351 f. *famae maioris amore* | *flagrantem ut uidit*.

401 nomen non pertulit: cf. 4.23 *aufert tibi nomen Hiberus*; 10.254 *non uno gurgite perfert*; Sil. 3.454 *ferre uetat... nomen*.

aequoreas... undas: an Ovidian collocation, used to distinguish sea water from fresh: *Rem.* 257 *aequoreas ibit Tiberinus in undas*; cf. *Met.* 12.580; *Fast.* 2.149; and the variants at *Rem.* 692; *Met.* 11.520 (*aqua*); *Pont.* 1.1.70 (*aequorei... unda salis*). Adjectives in -eus are often elevated in tone: see Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.3.

402 soluuntur... statione Ruteni: *soluo* is here 'to free from a blockade or garrison' (*OLD* 5c); it is used again of Pompeian ships at 4.463. The Ruteni inhabited south-west France (Plin. *Nat.* 4.109). They took part in the uprising of Vercingetorix in 52 (Caes. *Gal.* 7.7.1, 64.6, 75.3) and a legion was subsequently quartered among them for the winter of 52 under the command of C. Caninius Rebilus (Caes. *Gal.* 7.90.6). They are next heard of supplying Caesar with archers in Spain against the Pompeians (Caes. *Civ.* 1.51.1).

flauī... Ruteni: the adjective may pun on the etymological origin of the noun in the manner of 214 *puniceus Rubicon*.

longa statione: perhaps an allusion to their conquest in 121 BC at the hands of Q. Fabius Maximus (Caes. *Gal.* 1.45.2), or to the two years elapsing between Caninius' station among the Ruteni and his mobilization here.

403 mitis Atax Latias gaudet non ferre carinas: the river Aude, whose source is in the Pyrenees and which enters the Mediterranean near Narbonne. Strabo provides evidence for its (limited) capacity for navigation at 4.1.14 ἐκ δὲ Νάρβωνος ἀναπλεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ μικρὸν τῷ Ἀτακι, πεζεύεται δὲ πλέον ἐπὶ τὸν Γαρούναν ποταμόν; so too Mela 2.81 *Atax ex Pyrenaeo monte degressus, qua sui fontis aquis uenit, exiguus uadusque est, et iam ingentis alioqui aluei tenens nisi ubi Narbonem attingit nusquam nauigabilis, sed cum hibernis intumuit imbribus usque eo solitus insurgere, ut se ipse non capiat*. It is also personified (if the MS reading is correct) at Tib. 1.7.4 *quem tremeret forti milite uictus Atax*. The epithet *mitis* is probably a nod to BC's genre than to Gallic geography (despite *RE* 2.1898.31 f.): Verg. *A.* 8.88 f. (of the Tiber).

404 finis et Hesperiae, promotō limite, Varus: there is an anachronism here (*contra* Getty) but it is only a matter of months. The Var had been recognized as a natural boundary between Italy and Gaul since at least Sulla's time, but the formalization of this border is associated with the

Lex Roscia of 11 March 49, which gave citizenship to Gauls living south of the Alps and north of the Po (*CIL* 1.2.600; Cass. Dio 41.36.3). Certainly by August 49 Caesar was treating the river as the official terminus at *Civ.* 1.86.3 and 87.1 (*RE* 8a.1.420.47–425.26).

405 quaque: ‘and where’.

sub Herculeo sacratus nomine portus: periphrasis for *Portus Herculis Monoeci* (mod. Monaco). Vergil mentions the same source for Caesar’s civil war forces at *A.* 6.830 f. *aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monoeci | descendens*. For the name see *Plin. Nat.* 3.47; *Sil.* 1.585 f.; *Serv. A.* 6.830. *sub Herculeo... nomine* is revived in a different context at *V. Fl.* 3.600.

406 urguet rupe caua pelagus: ‘encroaches upon’, used of topographical features (*OLD urgueo* 6). *rupe caua* refers to the sheer cliff face at Monaco that meets the sea (*RE* 16.1.132.41–50). Getty takes the ablatives to be descriptive, but they are more likely instrumental.

Corus: the north-west wind. It is particularly associated with Gaul at *Caes. Gal.* 5.7.3 and *Plin. Nat.* 2.121.

406–7 in illum | ius habet: the harbour’s security against these winds is recounted in legal language; cf. *Sen. Oed.* 447 *ius habet in fluctus... puer* (Getty).

407 Zephyrus: the west wind.

407–8 turbat | Circius: the wind between the north and west. There is an etymological pun inherent in the verb: *Cato apud Gell.* 2.22 *nostri namque Galli uentum ex sua terra flantem, quem saeuissimum patiuntur, “circium” appellant a turbine*. The wind is exclusively associated with Narbonensian Gaul (hence *sua litora*, 407) and was proverbially severe: cf. *Sen. Nat.* 5.17.5; *Plin. Nat.* 2.121, 17.21, 17.49; *Apul. Mun.* 14.2; *Amp.* 5.2.

408 tuta prohibet statione Monoeci: sc. naues. The detail accords with the geographical testimony of Strabo at 4.6.1 ὁ δὲ τοῦ Μονοίκου λιμὴν ὄρμος ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλας οὐδὲ πολλαῖς ναυσὶν. But it also signals BC’s participation in a tradition of ecphrastic detail which begins at *Hom. Od.* 5.358 f. ἐν δὲ λιμὴν εὖορμος, ὅθεν τ’ ἀπὸ νῆας εἴσας | ἐς πόντον βάλλουσιν, ἀφυσάμενοι μέλαν ὕδωρ. It continues into Latin verse through Vergilian variants at *G.* 4.421 *deprentis olim statio*

tutissima nautis; A. 2.23 *nunc tantum sinus et statio male fida carinis*; A. 5.127 f. *immotaque attollitur unda | campus et apricis statio gratis-sima mergis*; cf. also Ov. Ep. 7.89 (Dido of Aeneas) *fluctibus eiectum tuta statione recepi* (Thomas (1988) on Verg. G. 4.421).

409 quaque iacet litus dubium: this is probably the coastal land of the Veneti in Brittany, since it accords well with both Pompey's jibe at 2.570–2 *Rheni gelidis quod fugit ab undis | Oceanumque uocans incerti stagna profundis | territa quaesitis ostendit terga Britannis?* and with Caesar's own description of this coast at Gal. 3.12.1 *erant eiusmodi fere situs oppidorum, ut posita in extremis lingulis promunturiisque neque pedibus aditum haberent, cum ex alto se aestus incitauisset, quod bis accidit semper horarum duodenarum spatio, neque nauibus, quod rursus minuente aestu naues in uadis adflictaerentur*. BC may also draw on the description of the tides at Mela 3.1 f.:

restat ille circuitus quem ut initio diximus cingit oceanus. ingens infinitumque pelagus it magnis aestibus concitum, ita enim motus eius adpellant, modo inundat campos modo late nudat ac refugit, non alios aliosque inuicem neque alternis accessibus nunc in hos nunc in illos toto impetu uersum, sed ubi in omnia litora, quamuis diuersa sint, terrarum insularumque ex medio pariter effusum est, rursus ab illis colligitur in medium et in semet ipsum redit, tanta ui semper inmissum, ut vasta etiam flumina retro agat, et aut terrestria deprehendat animalia aut marina destituat.

So too Manilius on the same phenomenon at 2.89–91 *sic pontum mouet ac terris immittit et aufert, | atque haec seditio pelagus nunc sidere lunae | mota tenet, nunc diuerso stimulata recessu*.

409–10 terra fretumque | uindicat: there is here (as at 407) a return to language associated with the law (*OLD uindico* 1a) in describing the jurisdiction of natural phenomena. Lucan uses *uindicare*, along with its cognates *uindex* and *uindicta* with relative frequency (22x; cf. Catul. 1x; Prop. 5x; Verg. 4x; Stat. Theb. 5x; Sil. 5x; not in Lucr., V. Fl., Tib.). Perhaps this is an indication of Ovid's influence (Kenney (1969) 253).

410 alternibus uicibus: not Ovidian (Getty, WB, Gagliardi, citing Met. 15.409, Pont. 4.2.6): Enn. trag. 123 J; cf. Soph. Trach. 113–15 *τῆς | κύματ' ἄν εὐρέι πόντῳ | βάντ' ἐπιόντα τ' ἴδοι*. Our phrase and variations are frequently used of tidal action in Senecan drama: Her. F. 377; Ag. 65 *alternos... fluctus*, 560 f.; Phaed. 1028.

funditur: simple for the compound *infunditur*.

411 **refugis...fluctibus:** variation on Ov. *Met.* 10.41 f. *nec Tantalus undam | captauit refugam* (Getty); *Fast.* 3.51 *scelus unda refugit*.

412–19 The narrator digresses upon the causes of such coastal tides. The possible causes—the winds, the moon, the sun—are arranged in tricolon indirect questions dependent upon the imperative at 417 *quaerite*. On Lucan and multiple explanation, a natural consequence of his addressing the concerns of natural science within epic poetry, see Schrijvers (2005) 36–9.

412 **uentus...pelagus...uolutet:** supply *utrum*.

ab extremo...axe: adapted at Sil. 15.638 to Spain.

sic: i.e. as described at lines 409–11.

413 **destituat:** the verb is used of winds calming at Liv. 30.24.7 and Sil. 7.243.

413–14 At 6.479 and 10.204, lunar influence on the tides is stated without any qualification.

413–15 **an...an:** archaic and poetic (Bömer (1969–86) on Ov. *Met.* 10.245–6; LHS 546; Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.680).

413 **sidere mota secundo:** ‘set in motion by the moon’ (*Comm. Bern. primum sidus est solis, secundum lunae*; cf. Housman). *sidus* is often used of the moon (*OLD* 2b), as at Man. 2.90 f. *seditio pelagus...sidere lunae | mota*; Curt. 4.10.2; Sen, *Ben.* 4.23.2; *Med.* 750.

414 **Tethyos...uagae:** Tethys, a sea goddess (Hes. *Th.* 136), represents the sea by metonymy (9x in *BC*). The tidal sea is described as *Tethys uaga* again at 6.67; at 2.558 the same phenomenon is rendered *Tethyn fugacem*; at 6.479 *impulsam Tethyn*.

unda...lunaribus aestuet horis: *aestuo* is here ‘to ebb and flow’ (*OLD* 4c). For *unda...aestuat*, again at 5.566: Hor. *Carm.* 2.6.4; Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.114. *lunares...horae* are the phases of the moon, as at Var. *L.* 9.26. *unda* is unusual in this position (100 n.).

415 **flammiger...Titan:** Silius applies the synonym *flammiifer* to the chariot of Titan at 1.210. For *flammiger* see 48 n.

alentes hauriat undas: on the Stoic belief that the sun is nourished by vapour from the ocean: Posidonius fr. 118 Kidd; cf. also the variant at 7.5 [*Titan*] *attraxit nubes, non pabula flammis*.

416 erigat Oceanum: the verb is frequently found in epic storm scenes: Verg. *A.* 3.423, 7.530; Ov. *Met.* 11.497; Luc. 5.648 f.; V. Fl. 8.367.

fluctusque ad sidera ducat: MPVC *ducit* is better than ZGU *tollit* (Serv. *G.* 2.479; *Comm. Bern.*). The phrase is a variation on Verg. *A.* 1.103 *fluctusque ad sidera tollit*; cf. also Germ. fr. 3.20 *aspera uentis | aequora turbatos uoluunt ad sidera fluctus*. What is hyperbole in Vergil takes on a more literal meaning here. *ad sidera* with *duco* is found previously at Prop. 3.2.19 of the Pyramids and at Man. 2.31 of Erigone.

417–19 quaerite, quos agitat mundi labor; at mihi semper | tu ... | ... late: *quos agitat mundi* are those who seek the answers to questions such as those posed at Lucr. 5.1211–14; Prop. 2.34.51–4 (Getty); or more importantly, those that form the subject matter of Orpheus at Ap. Rhod. 1.496–511, or of Silenus at *Ecl.* 6.31–86, or of the narrator himself at *G.* 2.475–82, or of Iopas at Verg. *A.* 1.742–6. These are the concerns of didactic poets. In each of these cases, the singer asks for or is empowered by supernatural inspiration or instruction. Relevant to the narrator's aversion to sing such themes here is that he has forsworn the inspiration of traditional divinities at 63–6 in favour of the emperor Nero. The narrator is simply not privy to the information. Nero is revealed as incapable of providing it and the shortcomings of 66 *tu satis ad uires Romana in carmina dandas* are on display (Feeney 278).

417 mundi labor: is found again at 5.481 *mundi tantorum causa laborum* (with an objective genitive).

at mihi semper: (103 n.) cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 1.6 f. *deus nobis haec otia fecit. | namque erit ille mihi semper deus*.

418 quaecumque moues: cf. the exclamation of Arruns at 631 f. *fas, superi, quaecumque mouetis, | proderet me populis*.

tam crebros ... meatus: the first instance of *meatus* used of tidal action (*TLL* 8.512.79–513.16).

418–19 causa ... | ... late: the collocation is frequent in verse, especially epic, since Verg. *A.* 3.32, 5.5.

419 **ut superi uoluere:** cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.619 *quicquid superi uoluere, peractum est*.

419–20 **rura Nemetis | qui tenet:** for the formula, see 9.439–40 *Nasamon, gens dura, ... qui proxima ponto | ... rura tenet*, but here the antecedent of the relative pronoun is the subject of 422 *signa mouet*. *Nemetis* is collective singular; they were a German tribe inhabiting the left bank of the Rhine in the region of the Helvetii and Rauraci. Caesar mentions them among the forces of Vercingetorix: Caes. *Gal.* 1.5.1, 6.25.1; Plin. *Nat.* 4.106; Tac. *Ger.* 28.5; *Ann.* 12.27.

420 **ripas Atyri:** a river in Aquitania (mod. Adour).

litore curuo: a line ending at Verg. *A.* 3.16, 3.223; Ov. *Fast.* 3.469; V. Fl. 1.275.

421 **claudit...aequor:** so too the harbour of Brundisium at 2.614–15 *linguam, Hadriacas flexis claudit quae cornibus undas. aequor*, originally used of any flat surface and made specific through a defining genitive (see Skutsch (1985) on Enn. *Ann.* 124 Sk.), is an archaic poeticism and a favourite of the epic genre. Lucan uses it with remarkable frequency even within this context (126x; cf. Verg. *A.* 89x; Ov. *Met.* 109x; V. Fl. 112x; Stat. *Theb.* 46x; Sil. 132x; Coleman (1977) on Verg. *Ecl.* 9.57; Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.233–4).

Tarbellicus: i.e. ‘the lands of the Tarbelli’ (Housman: adjective for substantive and person for place). They are attested in Aquitania at Caes. *Gal.* 3.27.1; Tib. 1.7.9; Plin. *Nat.* 4.108, 31.4.

422 **signa mouet:** the formula is repeated at the beginning of the line at 6.13 of Caesar moving towards Brundisium; cf. Verg. *G.* 3.236 of a battle between rival bulls.

gaudet: the subjects of the verb are the peoples named at 422–35.

Santonus: a tribe in western France on the Atlantic coast, along the river Charente in the modern region of Saintes (Caes. *Gal.* 1.10.1, 1.11.6; Plin. *Nat.* 4.108). Caesar records that D. Brutus—later in *BC* the commander of the Gallic fleet at Massilia at 3.509–762—was put in charge of a fleet for which the Santoni had provided ships (*Gal.* 3.11.5). They are numbered among the tribes contributing soldiers to the rebellion of Vercingetorix at *Gal.* 7.75.3. Tibullus also couples them with the Tarbelli (cf. 421) at 1.7.9 f.

423 Biturix: a tribe of west-central France near Avaricum (mod. Bourges). They joined Vercingetorix in 52, contributing 12,000 men (Caes. *Gal.* 7.5.7, 75.3). T. Sextius, wintered among them for 52/1 with the thirteenth legion (Caes. *Gal.* 7.90.6; Hirt. *Gal.* 8.2.1) and was joined by the eleventh in December (Hirt. *Gal.* 8.2.1). They authored a brief revolt in this period (Hirt. *Gal.* 8.3.5) after whose suppression the thirteenth was transferred to assist against the Bellovaci (Hirt. *Gal.* 8.11.1).

lingisque...in armis: a distinguishing characteristic of the Teutones at 6.259.

Suessones: only here spelt thus, normally *Suessiones*. They were a Belgic tribe inhabiting the modern department of Aisne near Soisson (Caes. *Gal.* 2.4.6; Plin. *Nat.* 4.106). They were members of the Belgic coalition of 57 and contributed 50,000 men to the cause. They were put down by Caesar in the same year (*Gal.* 2.3.5, 2.4.6., 2.12 f.). They joined the uprising of Vercingetorix in 52 (*Gal.* 7.75.3); C. Fabius was sent *in fines Suessionum* with two legions at the end of the same year (Hirt. *Gal.* 8.6.3).

424 excusso...lacerto: used of the casting of javelins at 3.567, 4.386; cf. Ov. *Ep.* 4.43; *Pont.* 2.9.57; Sen. *Ben.* 2.6.1; retained in epic at Stat. *Theb.* 10.745.

Leucus: mentioned at Caes. *Gal.* 1.40.10; Plin. *Nat.* 4.106; Tac. *Hist.* 1.64; they inhabited the region between Mosel and Marne.

Remusque: the Remi were a tribe inhabiting the region on either bank of the Aisne near Rheims. They abstained in 57 from the Belgic coalition (Caes. *Gal.* 2.3–7). They remained loyal in 56 amid the uprising of the Veneti (3.11.2); likewise amid the insurgencies of 54–53 (5.53–6); likewise during the revolt of Vercingetorix in 52 (7.63.7). Two legions were wintered in their region under the command of C. Fabius and L. Minucius Basilus at the end of 52 (7.90.5).

425 optima gens...Sequana: in Caesar, only the land of the Sequani is rendered superlative (*Gal.* 1.31.10). They were a tribe inhabiting eastern France in a region marked by the Saône on one side and the Vosges and Jura mountains on the other (Caes. *Gal.* 1.1.5, 1.2.3, 1.6.1, 1.12.1). In 52 they contributed 12,000 men to the forces of Vercingetorix (7.75.3). At the end of the year T. Labienus wintered among them with two legions and some cavalry (7.90.4).

in gyrum: *gyrus* in the singular is the ring used for breaking in horses (*OLD* 1a; cf. Verg. *G.* 3.191: *A.* 3.115–17, cited by Getty and WB, does not illustrate this sense); in the plural it refers to the manoeuvre of ‘wheeling’ (cf. Thomas (1988) on Verg. *G.* 3.115 and on Verg. *G.* 3.191).

426 docilis rector: *Belgae* are *docilis* because the *couinnus* was a British invention.

monstrati...couinni: Gryphius, Grotius, Weise, and Haskins emended to *rostrati*, to accommodate Colum. 2.21; cf. Mela 3.52 *dimicant non equitatu modo aut pedite, uerum et bigis et curribus Gallice armatis: couinnos uocant, quorum falcatis axibus utuntur*; cf. Sil. 17.417 *falcigero...couinno*. The unanimity of the manuscript readings, Verg. *G.* 1.19, and the epexegetic relationship of *monstrati* and *docilis* is decisive.

Belga: according to Caesar, the bravest of the three broad ethnic groups inhabiting Gaul, the *Belgae* lived in northern France, Belgium, southern Holland, and Germany west of the Rhine (1.1.1, 3; cf. Str. 4.196 for the possibility of the Germanic descent). A confederacy of Gallic tribes was formed in 57; most of book two of Caesar’s *De Bello Gallico* is devoted to describing its suppression and the subsequent piecemeal subjugation of the region.

couinni: ‘a war chariot with scythes attached to the axles’ (*OLD*; Mela 3.52 explains: see above); the Gallicism adds an appropriately regional variation to the catalogue. It is found first here in verse, then at Sil. 17.417 and Mart. 12.24.1 (*TLL* 4.1094.54–66): for the identificatory weapon see 398 n.

427–8 Auernique...populi: adjective and noun, not nouns in apposition (Hudson-Williams (1984) 453; cf. 10.47 f.). The separation of noun and adjective by up to ten words in *BC* is not uncommon (e.g. 2.386 f., 4.289 f., 5.483 f., 8.861 f., 9.798 f., 10.22 f., 10.162 f.). Getty’s (xlviii) insistence that *populi* is genitive singular is misguided: *sanguine ab Iliaco* is complete (428 n.).

427 Auernique ausi Latio se fingere fratres: they inhabited the modern departments of Haute-Loire, Puy-de-Dôme, and Cantal. There is debate as to whether Lucan has mistakenly applied this claim of shared heritage to the Averni instead of their neighbours

and rivals, the Aedui. Evidence suggesting a mistake is supplied at Caes. *Gal.* 1.33.2 where a similar claim is made for the Aedui: *Haeduos fratres consanguineosque saepe numero a senatu appellatos*; cf. Cic. *Att.* 1.19.2; *Fam.* 7.10.4 *Haedui, fratres nostri*; Tac. *Ann.* 11.25 *solī Gallorum fraternitatis nomen cum populo Romano usurpant*. In favour of Lucan's claim for the Averni, Sidonius Apollinaris *Ep.* 7.7.2 is weak evidence, since he virtually quotes our passage, but some scholars have argued in favour of Lucan's statement: Oudendorp on the basis that the Averni are described as daring (*ausi*) to claim what the Aedui actually had; Pichon 31 f. (drawing upon and extending Birt, Lejay, and Jullian) that the claim of the Averni is recorded in a source now lost to us.

428 sanguine ab Iliaco: *Iliacus sanguis* is Vergilian (*A.* 11.394); the clause is a variant on Vergilian expressions of genealogy, esp. *A.* 1.19 *progeniem... Troiano a sanguine*; 1.550 *Troiano... a sanguine clarus Aestes*; 4.230, 6.500 *genus alto a sanguine Teucris*; 5.45 *genus alto a sanguine diuum*.

428–9 nimiumque rebellis | Neruius et caesi pollutus foedere Cottae: the Nervii were a Belgic tribe living east of the Scheldt in parts of Hainault and Flanders (Caes. *Gal.* 2.4.8). Defeated in 57 (*Gal.* 2.16–28), they joined the treacherous insurgency headed by Ambiorix of the Eburones in which the legates L. Aurunculeius Cotta and Q. Titurius Sabinus were killed (Broughton, *MRR* 2.225 f.). The Nervii were put down in 53 (*Gal.* 6.3.1 f.) but still contributed 5,000 men to Vercingetorix the following year (*Gal.* 7.75.3).

430 te... imitantur, Samarta, braxis: cf. V. Fl. 5.423 *et iam Sarmaticis permutant carbasa braxis* with Wijsman (2000) ad loc.

laxis... braxis: cf. Ov. *Tr.* 5.7.49 *pellibus et laxis arcent mala frigora braxis* (cf. also 3.10.19). *bracae* are trousers (*OLD*). Gallia Narbonensis had previously been called *Gallia Bracata* (Plin. *Nat.* 3.31; Mela 2.74): for the identificatory clothing see 398 n.

431 Vangiones: a German tribe inhabiting the banks of the Rhine; mentioned at Caes. *Gal.* 1.51.2; Plin. *Nat.* 4.106; Tac. *Germ.* 28.4.

Bataui: inhabited an island between the Waal and the Meuse; Caes. *Gal.* 4.10.2; Plin. *Nat.* 4.101; Tac. *Germ.* 29.1.

aere recuruo: an Ovidian collocation: *Rem.* 210; *Fast.* 5.119, 6.240.

432 **stridentes...tubae**: cf. 237 *stridor...tubarum*; after Lucan, Silius (in Ennian mood) has at 5.189 *ac tuba terrificis fregit stridoribus auras*. On the verb see Skutsch (1985) on Enn. *Ann.* 355 Sk.

stridentes acuere: cf. Verg. *A.* 12.590 *magnis...acuunt stridoribus iras*. The perfect has frequentative force (Getty).

Cinga: Ω, only marginally better than Gelsomino's (1961) 654 f. suggested amendment to *Cirta*. The *Cinga* (mod. Cinca), is a small river in north-east Spain (again at 4.21).

432–3 **pererrat** | **gurgite**: adapted by Silius of the river Aufidus at 9.228.

433 **gurgite**: unusual in this *sedes* (223 n.).

433–4 **Rhodanus raptum...Ararim**: the confluence of the two rivers is treated again at 6.475 f.; cf. Caes. *Gal.* 1.12.1; Plin. *Nat.* 3.33; and the account at Sil. 3.452–4 *mixtus Arar, quem gurgitibus complexus anhelis* | *cunctantem immergit pelago raptumque per arua* | *ferre uetat patrium uicina ad litora nomen*.

raptum...fert: Vergil has the same action of an eagle snatching up a snake at *A.* 11.751 f. *uolans alte raptum...fulua draconem* | *fert aquila*.

434 **in mare fert**: re-used in the same *sedes* of the Nile at Stat. *Theb.* 8.361.

434–5 **ardua... | gens habitat...Cebennas**: the Cevennes are a mountain range in south-west Gaul (Caes. *Gal.* 7.8.2 f.; Mela 2.74.1; Plin. *Nat.* 3.31, 4.105). The Avernii seem to be the *ardua gens* here (despite their inclusion at 427) since they are the tribe mistaken in their assumption of the protection afforded by the Cevennes at Caes. *Gal.* 7.8.2 f.

435 **cana pendentes rupe Cebennas**: the often imitated Vergilian image of creatures hanging from mountain slopes (*Ecl.* 1.76; cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1.8.51 f.; Man. 5.569; *Ilias* 888; Mart. 13.98.1) is adapted here, with the verb applied through hypallage to the mountains themselves. Caesar also describes the almost impassable mantle of snow that settles on these mountains in winter at *Gal.* 7.8.2 *etsi mons Cebenna, qui Aruernos ab Heluiis discludit, durissimo tempore anni altissima niue iter impediabat, tamen discussa niue sex in altitu-*

dinem pedum atque ita uis patefactis summo militum labore ad fines Aruernorum peruenit.

436–40 These lines are not found in Ω and are rejected by all modern editors as an interpolation; 436–9 were apparently inserted at some point before 1115; 440 appears for the first time in 1521. For a full discussion: Lejay c–cii; Getty 134 f.; Mendell (1941); Gelsomino (1961) 651.

441 **laetatus**: *sc. es*, as at 6.616; Verg. *Aen.* 1.237, 5.687, 10.827; Hor. *Serm.* 2.8.2: Omission of the second person *es* in the perfect passive or deponent form is rarer than the third person *est*; see Housman *ad loc.*; Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.827–8.

conuerti proelia: i.e. from Gaul to Italy; cf. Sil. 17.446 (Hannibal) *uociferans subit et conuertit proelia dextra*.

Treuir: a tribe inhabiting south-east Belgium and Luxembourg in the Moselle Basin (Caes. *Gal.* 4.10; 5.3.1). They were rebellious in 54 (*Gal.* 5.3, 47, 53, 58), routed in 53 (*Gal.* 6.1–8), and remained neutral during the uprising of Vercingetorix (*Gal.* 7.63). Operations against them were continued into 51 (*Gal.* 8.45). They are described at Hirt. *Gal.* 8.25 as *ciuitas propter Germaniae uicinitatem cotidianis exercitata bellis cultu et feritate non multum a Germanis differebat neque imperata umquam nisi exercitu coacta faciebat*.

442 **Ligur**: the Ligures inhabited south-east France and north-west Italy from the Rhône to the Arno. Their toughness was a common topic: cf. e.g. Diod. 5.39; Cic. *Agr.* 2.95; Verg. *G.* 2.167 (Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.185–6).

442–3 **per colla... | ...effusis**: the same phrase is found at Col. 8.2.10; Silius favours it at 7.196, 13.780, and 16.442 f.

443 **crinibus effusis**: used again of Roman mothers at 7.370; cf. Catul. 64.391; after Lucan: V. Fl. 2.42; Juv. 6.164.

praelate: ‘exalted above’ (*OLD* 5a).

Comatae: playing off the etymology just offered at 442–3. All Transalpine Gaul was known to the Romans as *Gallia Comata* (Cic. *Phil.* 8.9.27; Plin. *Nat.* 4.105; Tac. *Ann.* 11.23.2; Suet. *Jul.* 22). The name was disparaging: it demarcated Romanized areas of Gaul (i.e. *Togata*, Cisalpine Gaul) from the barbarian north.

444–51 Human sacrifice in Gallic religion is revisited at 3.402–5 (cf. Hunink (1992) ad loc.).

444 **immitis**: used only in divine contexts in *BC*, here and by Cato at 2.304 *sic eat: inmites Romana piacula diui | plena ferant, nullo fraudemus sanguine bellum*. In Vergil the adjective underscores the implacability of a superior force regarding its victim: *G.* 4.17 (swallows that consume bees); *G.* 4.492 (Dis reclaiming Eurydice from Orpheus); *A.* 1.29 f. (Achilles): Smith (1999) 226 compares Homer's application of ἀμείλιχος. Here it is resolved and explained by the remainder of the line.

placatur sanguine: so too the ghost of Catulus at 2.174 and the Carthaginian dead at 6.310; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.36.1 f.; *S.* 2.3.206; Verg. *A.* 2.116; Ov. *Met.* 12.28, 151; Petr. 105.4; Col. 10.1.1.343.

sanguine diro: i.e. human blood. The phrase is reused with the same implications at [Sen.] *Oct.* 144 (if the text is sound); Stat. *Theb.* 6.350.

445 **Teutates**: also found 'Toutates'; the etymological meaning of the name is probably 'father of the tribe' (IE **teutā* 'people, tribe'; IE **tata-* 'father'). *Comm. Bern.* states that live victims were offered to him by being immersed head first in a tub full of water until drowned. The association of Teutates with Mars (*CIL* 3.5320) suggests a military function, but this inference is made unreliable by the simultaneous association with Mercury (*CIL* 13.6122): see Olmsted (1994) 108 f., 328 f., who raises the further problem that Teutates and Esus may be names associated with the same god (Maier (1997) 263 f.).

Esus: of debatable etymology: perhaps 'god' (IE **esu-*; cf. Venetic *aisu*), or 'lord, master' (cf. Lat. *erus*), apparently the recipient of human sacrifice through hanging, although precisely what *Comm. Bern.* means by *homo in arbore suspenditur usque donec per cruorem membra digresserit* is difficult to state categorically. The most famous representation of Esus shows a bearded figure chopping a tree with an axe above the inscription *esvs* (*CIL* 13.3026). He is associated with Mars (*Comm. Bern.*; *CIL* 13.1328) and Mercury (*Comm. Bern.*) (Olmsted (1994) 321 f.; Maier (1997) 110 f.).

446 **Taranis**: etymologically associated with thunder (cf. Irish *torann*; Welsh *taran*); hence a superficial equivalency with Jupiter,

posited by *Comm. Bern.* and attested epigraphically (*CIL* 3.2804; *RIB* 452). His iconographic distinction was the wheel, apparently representing thunder. *Comm. Bern.* comments that live victims were immolated in a wooden tub in his honour (Olmsted (1994) 298; Maier (1997) 261).

non mitior ara Dianae: the reference is to the sacrifice of Iphigenia to Artemis/Diana at Aulis and the subsequent human sacrifices made to the same goddess at her temple in Taurica. Getty's emendation of *Ω non* to *quo* removes the point of Lucan's shocking comparison. Green (1994) explores some of the implications of this comparison.

447–9 Lucan invests the Bardi with the usual role of the epic poet of perpetuating the glorious deeds of heroes. Read against the poet's frequent refusal or inability to narrate key events in the civil war (as at 7.552–6), the assignation of this ability to barbarians is a damning indictment of the protagonists within his own epic poem (Feeney 277).

447 **uos quoque, qui:** the formula is used again at 9.727, again as an instrument of *uariatio* in a catalogue.

fortes animas: a translation of Hom. *Il.* 1.3 ἰφθίμους ψυχάς (cf. also *Ilias* 3).

belloque peremptas: cf. Verg. *A.* 11.109 *Martis sorte peremptis*.

448 **in longum...aeuum:** from Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.159.

uates: see 63 n.

dimittitis: an unusual use of the verb. A near parallel would be Sen. *Dial.* 6.21.3 *cum ad omne tempus dimiseris animum* (cf. *TLL* 6.1208.64–77 for further metaphorical uses of the verb).

449 **plurima...carmina:** as with the Psyllus at 9.927.

fudistis carmina: first here, then at V. Fl. 8.69; Sil. 13.359, 10.230.

450 **barbaricos ritus:** elaborated upon at Caes. *Gal.* 6.16; Tac. *Ann.* 14.30 (with Dyson (1970) 36–8); Str. 4.4.5; Diod. Sic. 5.31.3. Lucan's vague and ominous phrase is taken up at Sil. 12.349, 16.20.

450–1 **ritus moremque... | positis repetitis ab armis:** cf. Pompey at 8.813 f. *semper ab armis | ciuilem repetisse togam*; in both cases *ab* has temporal force 'after' (*OLD* 13b), a usage common in Ovid (Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.813 f.). Getty's inference that Lucan implies

that the Druids had been in arms against the Romans should be taken with extreme caution, given the overall emphasis of the catalogue upon the exposure of Rome to dangerous, unguarded enemies.

moremque sinistrum | sacrorum: Drances alleges *mores sinistri* of Turnus at Verg. *A.* 11.347. The unelaborated collocation appears after Lucan at Stat. *Theb.* 6.215; Juv. 2.87. *mores sacrorum* is found first at Lucr. 1.96. 2.610; Verg. *A.* 3.408, 12.836; Ov. *Fast.* 1.465.

451 positis repetitis ab armis: cf. Ov. *Ep.* 3.95 *ille ferox positis secessit ab armis* (Haskins, Getty, WB). The verb may retain some of its technical legal sense, 'to reclaim (something lost)' (*OLD* *repeto* 9).

452–3 solis nosse deos... | aut solis nescire: anaphora and parallel construction underscore the antitheses.

452 nosse deos et caeli numina: cf. Figulus at 639 f. *cui cura deos secretaque caeli | nosse fuit*; also 3.417 *tantum terroribus addit, | quos timeant, non nosse, deos*. Caesar alludes to the same societal function of the Druids at *Gal.* 6.13.4 *illi rebus diuinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac priuata procurant, religiones interpretantur*.

caeli numina: the phrase first appears in a fragment of Lucilius (939) and then here; after Lucan: Juv. 14.97; Apul. *Met.* 9.21.

453 nemora alta: a standard epithet since Verg. *G.* 3.393, 3.520; *A.* 12.929. The coupling of the two near synonyms (424 *lucis*) may not require exact differentiation, but strictly the primary meaning of *nemus* is 'a wood or a forest' (*OLD* 1a), whereas a *lucus* is 'a sacred grove' (*OLD* 1a).

454–8 In effect, a Gallic version of the transmigration theory espoused at Verg. *A.* 6. 724–51; note esp. 456 *spiritus artus*; cf. Verg. *A.* 6.726 *spiritus intus*. It was part of Druidic eschatology that the soul is immortal and enters another body upon death (cf. Caes. *Gall.* 6.14). This belief should be differentiated from the Pythagorean theory of metempsychosis, since some ancient authorities (Mela 3.19; Val. Max. 2.6.10; Amm. 15.9.8; Str. 4.4.4; Diod. Sic. 5.28.5 f.; Diog. Laert. *pr.* 6) assume a connection between the two. The core of the matter is well summarized by Piggot (1968) 121: 'the Celtic doctrine of immortality...is not in fact Pythagorean in content at all, in that it does not imply a belief in the transmigration of

souls through all living things... but only a naïve, literal, and vivid re-living of an exact counterpart of earthly life beyond the grave... What is surely significant is the very real contrast between the Celtic and the classical vision of eternity and the after-life, which would render the former so strange as to be necessary of explanation in some familiar philosophical terms: this is the contrast explicitly stressed by Lucan, though in Pythagorean terms.'

454 *uobis auctoribus*: 'according to your teachings'.

455–6 *non... | ...petunt*: 339n.

455 *tacitas Erebi sedes*: cf. 6.800 *regni possessor inertis | pallentis aperit sedes*. *tacitae sedes* are found again at V. Fl. 5.333; *sedes Erebi* is used at Petr. 124.254.

Ditisque profundi: a phrase redolent of Senecan drama: *Med.* 741; *Tro.* 432; Ag. 1 with Tarrant (1976) ad loc.

455–6 *Ditisque | ...pallida regna*: is found in a wide variety of poetic sources; for *Ditis regna*: Verg. *A.* 6.269; *Culex* 273; *Aetna* 78; Ov. *Met.* 4.511; Sen. *Her. F.* 95; *Med.* 638; Ag. 752; [Sen.] *Oct.* 556; Petr. 124.251; for *pallida regna*: Verg. *A.* 8.254 *infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat | pallida*; Sil. 11.472; cf. also Sil. 3.483, 13.408 *pallentia regna*.

regit idem spiritus artus: (363 n.) for *spiritus* (πνεῦμα): Cic. *N.D.* 2.19; Austin (1977) on Verg. *A.* 6.726 with references.

457 *orbe alio*: the meaning is brought out by Verg. *A.* 6.745 *perfecto temporis orbe*; Austin (1977) on Verg. *A.* 6.745 comments that at Pl. *Phdr.* 248e ten thousand years is nominated as the time required for the soul to return to the place from which it came.

cognita: 'known from experience, ascertained, acknowledged' (*OLD* 1a).

457–8 *uitae | mors media est*: cf. 6.99 *nec medii dirimunt morbi uitamque necemque* (Lejay).

458 *populi quos despicit Arctos*: i.e. northern tribes. There is no need to take this line as anything other than a general reference to the peoples of Gaul.

459–60 felices... quos... timorum | maximus haut urguet leti metus: the sentiment is encapsulated at Sen. *Tro.* 869 *optanda mors est sine metu mortis mori*. The druids arrive by error (459 n.) at one of the central tenets of Stoic and Epicurean ethics.

459 errore suo: reveals the narrator's point of view, despite the conditional acknowledgement at 457 f.

460 leti metus: variation on the more common phrases *mortis metus* (frequently since Sal. *Jug.* 38.10) and *mortis timor* (since Lucr. 2.45). Lucan's variant is found after him at V. Fl. 4.514; Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.183; Sil. 3.144, 5.348.

460–1 ruendi | in ferrum mens: *ruere in ferrum* is also at 4.273; cf. Verg. *G.* 2.504; A. 8.648; Liv. 28.22.14; Ov. *Ars* 2.379. *ruendi* is taken with *mens* (Housman, citing 6.1, 9.226; Vell. 2.4.4).

461–2 animaeque capaces | mortis: the collocation of noun and adjective finds precedent at Ov. *Met.* 8.243, 15.5; cf. also Sen. *Ep.* 92.30. *capax* is here 'able to deal with or endure' (*OLD* 3d).

462 ignauum rediturae parcere uitae: acc.+inf. after the verb implied at 461 *mens*. For the phrase: Sal. *Jug.* 106.4 *turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan post paulo morbo interiturae uitae parceret*.

463–4 et uos... | oppositi: here, at the final item of a catalogue ostensibly concerned with Caesar's forces in Gaul, the actual troops are mentioned for the first time.

463 crinigeros: Lucan's coinage, adopted by Silius at 14.585. For this stereotype of Gallic appearance see 443 n.; for compound adjectives in *BC* see 48 n.

bellis: Ω, preferred despite Bentley's emendation to *Belgis*, since they are already mentioned at 426; Tac. *Germ.* 35 *quieti secretique nulla prouocant bella* (Getty) is irrelevant, since the consensus reading (and overall tenor of the catalogue) still supports a bellicose presentation of the tribe (see also Heitland (1901) 79; Getty (1936) 59 n. 4). The ablative indicates not instrument (Getty: 'by force of arms') but separation: see Hudson-Williams (1951) 68–70.

arcere: epexegetic infinitive after *oppositi*.

Caycos: the Chauci were a Germanic tribe inhabiting the North Sea coast of Germany between the rivers Ems and Elbe (Tac. *Germ.* 35 f.). They are not mentioned by Caesar; perhaps they are all of Germany by metonymy (Getty).

464 petitis Romam: returns to the introductory sentence of the catalogue at 395 [*Caesar*] *Romam*...*petit*.

464–5 Rhenique feroces deseritis ripas: reinforces the superficial ring composition established at 464 (cf. 395), by returning to the first verb of the catalogue proper at 396 *deseruere*. The epithet *ferox* is transferred from river to bank: cf. Ov. *Pont.* 4.9.76 *ripa ferox Histri sub duce tuta fuit*; Tacitus adapts the phrase at *Hist.* 2.32.

apertum gentibus orbem: i.e. *gentibus exteris orbem Romanum* (Housman, citing 2.47, 7.233 for *gentibus*, 110, 285, and 10.456 for *orbem*; see too Heitland (1901) 79): see 93 n. The conclusion encapsulates the polemical force of the catalogue as a whole; cf. Lentulus at 8.423–5 *debuerant*... | *Rhenique cateruis* | *imperii nudare latus*.

466–522 THE REACTION AT ROME TO CAESAR'S INVASION

As Caesar advances his forces into Italy, Rome responds with speculation and panicked evacuation.

Structural importance, thematic content, Vergilian allusion

Line 466 marks a return from the extensive catalogue of Gallic nations to the account of Caesar's invasion of Italy, which the narrator had interrupted at 392–5. After a three-line transitional sentence (466–8), however, the narrator's point of view will again immediately shift, this time, to the reactions of the victims of his invasion at Rome. The narrative at 469–522 may be read as ascending in either strategic importance or dereliction of duty. It begins with the

effects of *Fama* upon the populace at Rome at 469–86, before turning to the senate's headlong flight from duty at 486–98, and culminates—following general observations and similes (498–521)—in the devastating half-line at 522 that lays responsibility for this widespread panic and flight, along with a greater share of guilt in the abandonment of Rome, squarely at Pompey's feet.

469–522 are also important to the structure of the opening two books of *BC* (see Introd. §3). We shall not return to the events of Caesar's invasion of Italy and Pompey's reaction until 2.392. The long sequence 1.469–2.391 will bridge the first of Lucan's book divisions, keeping the reader's attention and sympathy with the reactions of the victims of civil war at Rome while offering opportunity to the narrator to underscore the omens, historical precedents, and the greater scale of the present internecine conflict. Prominent themes established or anticipated in the final scenes of book one that continue into the opening of book two are the supernatural prodigies heralding the oncoming civil war (522–83; 2.1–15); the senate's lack of leadership and the panicked or dolorous reaction of the urban populace (469–522; 2.18–64); the escalation of the civil war to the scale of a cosmic event (639–72; 2.4–15); and the notion of the present civil war as a second manifestation of the conflict between Marius and Sulla (580–3; 2.64–233), a motif that is relevant to the poem's notion of the endlessness of civil war (cf. e.g. 95–7, 672–95) (see further Introd. §3).

A further theme that deserves attention is the manner in which the reaction at Rome is presented in language and imagery that recall the last night and destruction of Troy as related in *Aeneid* 2. The primary context is established in the motif of the evacuation of a city under attack. These correspondences emerge in the present passage, in part, because of Lucan's and Vergil's shared participation in the literary motif of the *urbs capta*, in which the rhetorical standardization of details from the sacking of a city are formulated. This standardization occurred before Homer and finds expression throughout Greek and Latin literature. Particularly influential in the Latin tradition is Ennius' now lost account of the sacking of Alba (Serv. A. 2.486; cf. Liv. 1.29). Particular details in this current passage which operate in the tradition of this motif are the mention of firebrands (493–5), of buildings collapsing (494–5), the flight of citizens (495–8), and the

pathetic invocation of family ties (504–7). Of course, in Lucan, his engagement with this tradition is moderated by the fact that he describes a hypothetical, rather than an actual sacking (see Paul (1982) 144–55). The specific connection between the current passage and *Aeneid* 2 is underscored by attention drawn to family members as well as the household gods (504–7 *nullum* [*sc. natum*] ... *eualuit reuocare parens coniunxue maritum* | ... *aut patrii* ... | ... *lares*) that are so prominent in the Vergilian narrative and yet in our present context are ineffectual in their power to check the mass evacuation of the city (cf. esp. 491–3). Another prominent marker is the theme of the solitary night. In the Vergilian narrative it is spent in the heroic but futile defence of Troy; here it is mentioned only to emphasize that no such defence was undertaken by the republican forces (520 *nox una tuis non credita muris*): a detail that is particularly damning of Pompey (520 n.). Further details from Vergil's *Iliupersis* strengthen the levels of correspondence (cf. e.g. 479, 496 f., 507 f.). This inter-textual content is relevant to more than just marking *BC* as a participant in the genre of epic. Both sides in the conflict are exposed, as one is cast in the role worse than that of the besieging Greeks (because of the internecine nature of the conflict) and the other is economically cast as a kind of collective manifestation of a cowardly Aeneas whose families, *cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis* (Verg. *A.* 3.12), are not enough to delay their instinctive flight into exile (Verg. *A.* 3.11 *feror exsul in altum*) and, paradoxically, war (cf. 504 *in bellum fugitur*).

466–8 *Caesar, ut ... | ... fecere, ... | spargitur*: marks the transition from catalogue back to narrative. The same formula is used at 223, 392, 3.46, 4.513, 7.728, and 9.950. The metonymic image *Caesar ... spargitur* reinforces *BC*'s monolithic presentation of its main protagonist such as he himself presents at 338 *ultima Pompeio dabitur prouincia Caesar ...*? This tendency reaches its logical conclusion in the narrator's political observation of 3.108 *omnia Caesar erat*.

conlecto robore: cf. Verg. *G.* 3.235 f. *post ubi collectum robur uiresque refectae*, | *signa mouet praecepsque oblitum fertur in hostem*; V. Fl. 4.591 *lecto ... de robore siquem* | *perculerit uicina lues*. The verb is often used of the improvised or ad hoc gathering of military forces, as at e.g. Cic. *Cat.* 2.8 (Hardie (1994) on Verg. *A.* 9.11).

467 **audendi maiora:** cf. Verg. A. 10.811 *quo moriture ruis maioraque uiribus audes?*; 12.814 *Iuturnam... succurrere fratri suasi et pro uita maiora audere probaui*.

fidem fecere: an alliterative idiom, 'to convince' (OLD *fides* 11).

468 **uicinaque moenia conplet:** 'cities' by metonymy (cf. 586). Caesar elaborates at Civ. 1.11.4 *itaque ab Arimino M. Antonium cum cohortibus V Arretium mittit, ipse Arimini cum duabus [legionibus] subsistit ibique dilectum habere instituit; Pisaurum, Fanum, Anconam singulis cohortibus occupat*. The collocation *uicina moenia* appears again in Lucan at 5.435. For the phrase *moenia complere* (again at 7.438): Verg. A. 9.39, 11.140; after Lucan: Tac. *Hist.* 3.30; *Ann.* 3.1, 4.58.

469–72 **accessit fama... | inrupitque... | intulit... | ...soluit:** the shift in tense to the perfect underscores the instantaneous action of *fama*'s handiwork (cf. Austin (1971) on Verg. A. 1.84).

469–71 **fama... | ... | ...nuntia:** commonly in apposition after Verg. A. 4.188 and 9.474; Ov. *Ep.* 9.143 f., 16.38; *Met.* 14.726; *Pont.* 4.4.15 f.; V. Fl. 1.46 f.; Stat. *Theb.* 6.1 f. For *fama* in epic, see Verg. A. 4.173–97 (ultimately derived from Hom. *Il.* 2.93 f. and *Od.* 24.413: Seitz (1965) 222 n. 4); Ov. *Met.* 9.137–40, 12.39–63; V. Fl. 2.116–26; Stat. *Theb.* 3.425–31, 4.369–77; Sil. 4.1–7, 6.552–4.

469 **ad ueros accessit...timores:** adapted at Stat. *Theb.* 3.344 *geminatque acceptos Fama pauores*, 4.369 *accumulat crebros turbatrix Fama pauores*.

470–2 **inrupitque... | intulit... | innumeras:** note in three successive lines commencing with the prefix *in-*, Lucan conveys the speed and efficiency of *fama*'s handiwork (470 f.) as well as its result (472).

470 **inrupitque animos:** cf. Sen. *Ben.* 3.3.2 *inrumpit animum aliorum admiratio* (Getty; WB); add Cic. *Luc.* 125.20; Quint. *Decl.* 332.12.

clademque futuram: cf. Lucr. 5.246 *scire licet caeli quoque item terraeque fuisse | principiale aliquod tempus clademque futuram* (whence cosmological overtones recalling 72–80); Ov. *Met.* 3.191 *cladis praenuntia uerba futurae* (cf. 471 *uelox...nuntia*); Sen. *Phoen.* 280 *iacta iam sunt semina | cladis futurae: spernitur pacti fides*; after Lucan: Sil. 8.657 and 9.1.

470–1 *clademque*... | *intulit*: i.e. rumour of the *clades*. For this use of *infero*: TLL 7.1.1381.78–1382.66.

471 *uelox*...*nuntia*: cf. Verg. A. 4.174 *Fama, malum qua non aliud uelocius ullum*; 4.188 *tam ficti prauique tenax quam nuntia ueri*; 11.139 *tanti praenuntia luctus* (Thompson and Bruère (1968) 10).

472 *in praeconia*: redeployed in the same position at Stat. *Theb.* 2.176; cf. Ov. *Ep.* 17.207 *uolucris praeconia famae*.

innumeras: ἀνήριθμος, Latinized by Lucretius and a favourite adjective of imperial epic (14x in Lucan; cf. Horsfall (2003) on Verg. A. 11.204; Smolenaars (1994) on Stat. *Theb.* 7.51).

innumeras soluit falsa in praeconia linguas: cf. the less compressed descriptions at Verg. A. 4.189 f. *haec [fama] tum multiplici populos sermone replebat* | *gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat*. For *soluere linguam*: Ov. *Met.* 9.137–9 *Fama loquax praecessit ad aures*, | ... *quae ueris addere falsa gaudet*; 3.261; Val. Max. 5.3.(ext.) 3 f.

soluit...*linguas*: cf. Ov. *Met.* 3.261 *linguam ad iurgia soluit*.

473–86 These lines elaborate and illustrate the *falsa praeconia* of the preceding line in an alternating sequence of reported speech (473–8; 481–4) and comment from the narrator (479 f.; 484–6).

473 *tauriferis*: evidently coined by Lucan and a *hapax legomenon*. For compound adjectives in BC: 48 n.

tauriferis...*Meuania campis*: this Umbrian city (mod. Bevagna) is often associated with its cattle: Colum. 3.8.3 *armentis sublimibus insignis Meuania est*; Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.128 *nec si uacuet Meuania ualles*, | *aut praestent niueos Clitumna noualia tauros*, | *sufficiam*; Sil. 6.647 *et sedet ingentem pascens Meuania taurum*. At Prop. 4.1b.123 and Sil. 8.456 its surrounding fields are also a defining feature (RE 15.2.1507.60–1508.30). On compound adjectives such as *taurifer* (adopting the form, if not the sense, of ταυροφόρος) see 48 n.

474 *explicat*: in a reflexive sense, ‘to be spread out, to stretch, extend’ (OLD 4c). This is the first instance of the verb applied to the earth in this sense (TLL 5.1726.55); cf. also 3.375–7 *haut procul a muris tumulus surgentis in altum* | *telluris paruum diffuso uertice campum* | *explicat*, 4.19 *explicat hinc tellus campos effusa patentis*.

ruere in certamina: Livian (4.35.8); also adopted at Sil. 5.383.

turmas: a *turma* is strictly a technical term for a squadron of cavalry (*OLD*; Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.239–40); here it is loosely used of forces (cf. 476 *alas*).

475 Nar: the Nar (mod. Nera) flows from the Monti Sibillini between Visso and Norcia into the Tiber (Verg. A. 7.517; Plin. *Nat.* 3.109; Philipp *RE* 16.2.1696–1697.62; Horsfall (2000) on Verg. A. 7.516).

Tiberino...amni: cf. the variant at 2.216 *Tiberina flumina*. It is first collocated at Liv. 5.37.7, 29.14.11; after Lucan: Sil. 6.383 and Tac. *Hist.* 1.86. The form *Tiberinus* is archaic and sacral (cf. Serv. A. 8.72; Skutsch (1985) on Enn. *Ann.* 26 Sk.). Lucan uses both *Tiberinus* and *Thybris* (381 n.).

476 A golden line (40 n.).

barbaricas...alas: the adjective recalls in broad terms the extensive catalogue of Caesar's troops at 396–465 (esp. 450, where it had also been used specifically of the Druidic rites). Despite its application to the forces of Caesar here, the use of the epithet is bipartisan throughout the narrative: at 7.527, for example, Pompey's forces at Pharsalus are *barbarica...caterua*. There is no need to suppose that *alas* refers to any specific group within Caesar's forces (Haskins, Getty, WB, Gagliardi). It is more likely used in a general sense, 'a band or troop of warriors' (*OLD* 6c).

saeui...Caesaris: a frequent collocation in *BC*: 4.2, 5.369, 5.803, 7.171 (adverbially), 8.134, 8.765.

477 aquilas...signa: variation, as at 6 f., 244, 3.330.

conlataque signa: 'the standard "technical" language of military narrative' (Horsfall (2003) on Verg. A. 11.517). Moreover, another backward glance at the catalogue: 394 f. *sparsas per Gallica rura cohortes | euocat et Romam motis petit undique signis*; 466 *immensae conlecto robore uires | ...fidem fecere*.

signa ferentem: a line ending from *Epic. Drusi* 335; Man. 1.699.

478 agmine non uno: a frequent detail in Livian military narrative (e.g. 1.14.11, 2.30.14 *et saepe*).

densisque incedere castris: cf. Caes. *Gal.* 7.46.4 *usque ad murum oppidi densissimis castris compleuerant* (Getty).

479–80 The focus of Rome's imaginings now shifts from Caesar's troops to Caesar himself.

479 *nec qualem meminere uident*: one thinks of Aeneas' vision of Hector at Verg. *Aen.* 2.300 *ei mihi, qualis erat, quantum mutatus ab illo* | *Hectore qui redit exuuias indutus Achilli*.

maiorque ferusque: the first use of the repeated *–que...–que* formula in *BC* not deployed in the Lucretian *terraque marique* (201, 306). In Latin epic, the words connected in this formula are generally parallel in meaning or form; this grouping is therefore unusual in that both elements are adjectives (rather than the more frequent nouns) and more so because a positive and a comparative are joined together. This is (as Getty notes) because of the absence of comparative or superlative forms for *ferus* (supplied from *ferox*: *TLL* 6.1.602.24–8), which here draws comparative force from *maior* (Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.98–9). The device *–que...–que* was brought into Latin by Ennius to realize the metrical effect of the Homeric $\tau\epsilon... \tau\epsilon$. In genres other than epic (in comedy, for example) its use marks an elevation in style. Lucan deploys this device 50x in *BC* and at three other places in book one (201, 306 *terraque marique*; 562 *numeroque modoque*). See Fordyce (1977) on Verg. *A.* 7.186; Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.91.

480 *uictoque inmanior hoste*: Semple (1937) 20 effectively refuted the notion that *uicto...hoste* is an ablative of cause (Haskins; Getty). The point is that, to the Romans, Caesar is even more terrifying than the *barbaricae alae* (476) that he leads against his country. *inmanis* marks the frightened awe with which Caesar was regarded.

481 *hunc*: i.e. Caesar, object of *sequi* (483), and thus not *tunc* (Getty).

Rhenum...Albimque: Van Jever's emendation, better than Ω *Alpemque* CZ² *Alpesque* (Heitland (1901) 78 defends Ω on the grounds that *Albim* makes reference to Germans clear when we would expect Gauls). Rhine and Elbe are coupled again at 2.52, as at Sen. *Med.* 374; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.59.6, 2.14.6, 2.21.2.

iacentes: 19–20 n.

481–2 *populos... | ...a sede reuolsos*: cf. 8.309 *effundam populos alia tellure reuolsos*; adapted from Ov. *Met.* 11.554 f. *Athon Pindumue reuolsos* | *sede sua* (Getty).

patriaue a sede: collocated in this position at Ov. *Pont.* 4.14.59; after Lucan at Stat. *Theb.* 4.76, 10.789, 12.507; Sil. 7.433.

483 pone sequi: Vergilian: G. 4.487; A. 2.725, 10.266. *pone* is a poetic archaism (Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.25; Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.226–7). The phrase is adopted at Grat. 456 and, after here, at V. Fl. 5.413; Sil. 9.100.

feris a gentibus: revisits with 307 f. (*feroces* | *Gallorum populi*), 445 (*horrensque feris altaribus Esus*), 464 f. (*Rhenique feroces* | *deseritis ripas*), and 479 (*maiorque ferusque*) the shared barbarity of Caesar and his forces.

483–4 iussamque...urbem | ...rapi: *iussam* is displaced from *gentibus* to *urbem*. For *urbem...rapi*: Stat. *Theb.* 7.599 *templa putes urbemque rapi*.

484 Romano spectante: obviously the observer is Caesar. The verb is regularly used of viewing plays or spectacles (Costa (1973) on Sen. *Med.* 894). BC here compresses the phrase *populo Romano (in) spectante* (Cic. *Phil.* 3.12.8; Val. Max. 5.2.5), effecting a pointed moral juxtaposition between the foreign nations who are imagined as sacking Rome and the Roman general whose natural role would be to prevent such an event. For the phrase, cf. also Sen. *Thy.* 65 f. *mixtus in Bacchum cruor | spectante te potetur*.

484–5 sic: i.e. as at 473–84.

quisque pauendo | dat uires famae: adapts the picture of *Fama* at Verg. A. 4.175 *uirisque adquirit eundo*; cf. also Ov. *Met.* 12.57 f. *mensuraque ficti | crescit, et auditis aliquid nouus adicit auctor*. The gerund of *pauere* is found elsewhere only at Liv. 21.25.13 and at 6.298 *inque ipsa pauendo | fata ruit*.

484–6 quisque... | dat... | quae finxere timent: note the change of grammatical number, as rumour's effect is treated first at the level of the individual (*quisque*) and then the scope is expanded to encompass the whole group.

485 nulloque auctore malorum: except here, *nullus auctor* is the preserve of prose writers. The collocation of *auctor* and *malorum* is adapted from Sen. *Ben.* 2.14.1 *detestamur perniciosos malorum munerum auctores*. It is redeployed at Sil. 17.511. Here

auctor is 'a person, thing, or fact that provides evidence or substantiation, a witness, proof, warrant, authentication' (OLD 7).

486 quae finxere timent: returns to 479–80 and anticipates the motif of the fear that the idea of Caesar generates, revisited at 2.598–600. Note also the *constructio ad sensum* of *timent* with its singular subject 484 *quisque* (242 n.).

486–7 nec solum uulgas ... | ... pauet: initiates the transition to the lengthy description of the flight from Rome at 490–522 and restates 484 *sic quisque pauendo* | *dat uires famae*.

uulgos inani | percussum terrore pauet: these qualities define the urban populace again at 2.234–6, if only to distinguish Brutus in contrast: *at non magnanimi percussit pectora Bruti* | *terror et in tanta pauidi formidine motus* | *pars populi lugentis erat*.

487–9 curia ... | ... patres ... | ... senatus: the senate's reaction is underscored by an ascending tricolon of clauses, all of which take synonyms as their subject.

488–9 sedibus exiluire ... | ... fugiens mandat: note the juxtaposition of words that allude to the senate's flight (*exiluire*; *fugiens*) and words alluding to its usual place and role at Rome (*sedibus*; *mandat*) (cf. 484 n. for a similar technique). Lucan's senate act in degenerate contrast to the steadfast sacrifice of the senate amid the Gallic invasion of 541 (as at Liv. 5.41): a contrast foreshadowed at 254.

inuisaque belli | consulibus ... mandat decreta: evidently the *senatus consultum ultimum* (cf. OLD *decretum* 3b; cf. TLL 5.152.33–69); cf. Caes. Civ. 1.5.3 *decurritur ad illud extremum atque ultimum senatus consultum, quo nisi paene in ipso urbis incendio atque in desperatione omnium salutis latorum audacia numquam ante descensum est: dent operam consules, praetores, tribuni plebis, quique pro consulibus sunt ad urbem, nequid res publica detrimenti capiat*. Getty's reaction to the discrepancy between the historical dates for the SCU on 7 January and the flight of senate and consuls from Rome on 18 January ('Lucan's account is again not accurate') misses the moral point of collapsing the intervening eleven days to underscore the contrast between the senate's authorization of the defence of Rome and its hasty abandonment of the actual task of defence.

490–1 quae tuta petunt et quae metuenda relinquunt | incerti: parallel clauses, anaphora and enjambment of *incerti* all underscore the anxiety besetting the fathers. *Comm. Bern.* (*quasi omnia Caesar teneret*) is correct to note that the overall import of the line is the belief that Caesar already had control of everything even at this early stage.

491–3 The theme and context of leading a crowd from an evacuated city recall the close of *Aeneid* 2. These lines underscore both similarities between (i) Caesar's invasion of Italy and the Greek sack of Troy and (ii) the difference between Aeneas' leadership and the uncontrolled impulse to flight of Lucan's senate; cf. Verg. A. 2.796–800:

Atque hic ingentem comitum adfluxisse nouorum
inuenio admirans numerum, matresque uirosque,
collectam exsilio pubem, miserabile uulgus.
undique conuenere animis opibusque parati
in quascumque uelim pelago deducere terras.

491 quo quemque fugae tulit impetus: cf. Liv. 23.15.5 *dilapsi omnes, quocumque hospitia aut fortuitus animi impetus tulit*; 38.27.2 *qua quemque impetus tulit, fugerunt*. *impetus* is 'impulse' (OLD 6; Coffey and Mayer (1990) on Sen. *Phaed.* 263).

492 praecipitem populum: again at 8.93 (83 n.).

serieque haerentia longa | agmina: for the collocation *serie haerentia*, cf. Val. Max. 2.7.5; Sen. *Dial.* 12.8.3; after Lucan: Curt. 7.3.21. The imagery and context suggests the fall of Troy at Verg. A. 2.766 f. *pueri et pauidae longo ordine matres | stant circum*.

493 agmina prorumpunt: there may be some gentle play on the military applications of the noun (OLD 5–8) which contrasts the obligation to form *agmina* to defend Rome and the hordes of people fleeing the confrontation with Caesar.

credas: this kind of potential subjunctive is a common device in Latin epic narrative (LHS 419; cf. γνοίης ἄν); it softens hyperbole here, 8.147 (with Mayer (1981) ad loc.), 9.412; cf. also Verg. A. 8.691, 11.528; Ov. *Met.* 11.126. The closest parallel to

the present example is at Stat. *Theb.* 7.599 *templa putes urbemque rapi facibusque nefandis* | *Sidonios ardere lares, sic clamor apertis* | *exoritur muris*.

aut: on the postponed connective: 27 n.

493–4 *tecta* ... | **corripuisse:** cf. Sen. *Nat.* 7.5.1; after Lucan: Curt. 5.1.28. *corripio* is first used in an incendiary context at Verg. *A.* 9.537 (*OLD* 1d).

nefandas | ... **faces:** first used in the context of the *Iliupersis* at Sen. *Phoen.* 540 f. *nefandas moenibus patriis faces* | *auerte* (cf. 497 *patrios* ... *muros*); after Lucan, the Trojan context abides at Stat. *Theb.* 7.599.

494–5 **aut iam quatiente ruina** | **nutantes pendere domos:** returns to the theme of architectural ruination announced at 24. *pendere* is first used in *BC* with the sense ‘to be in a suspended state before falling’ (*OLD* 7b). *ruina* used of buildings or other structures is ‘collapse, ruin’ (*OLD* 3a).

495 **nutantes** ... **domos:** the imagery is redeployed at Plin. *Pan.* 51.1 *stant securae domus nec iam templa nutantia*.

turba per urbem: the last four syllables are a very common formula for ending hexameter lines, but they are almost exclusively used in negative contexts to describe the actions of (or humiliations inflicted upon) the defeated, those mourning, or forces such as *Fama*. Thus in Lucan they elsewhere describe a frenzied matron at 676, the headless victims of the proscriptions at 2.160, and Pompey’s own severed head at 9.137; cf. its use at Verg. *A.* 4.300, 4.666, 7.377, 8.554, 8.665, 8.710, 9.473, 12.608; Ov. *Ep.* 9.123; *Met.* 6.275, 14.746; *Tr.* 4.10.59; Sil. 5.151, 6.554, 13.711.

496 **praecipiti** ... **gradu:** a variant also found at Sen. *Her. O.* 254 and V. Fl. 8.131 on the more usual *praecipiti* ... *cursu* (Liv. 27.48.12 and at 2.706, 7.336, 7.496, 10.508; cf. 3.750 *praecipiti* ... *salu*).

lymphata: cf. Vergil’s *Amata* at *A.* 7.377 *tum uero infelix ingentibus excita monstis* | *immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem* (cf. 495–8 *turba per urbem* | ... | ... | ... *ruit*). The word is strongly evocative of Bacchic frenzy (Pac. *Trag.* 422 f.; Catul. 64.254). On its etymology: Fordyce (1977) on Verg. *A.* 7.377.

496–7 **uelut unica rebus | spes foret adfflictis patrios excedere muros**: a variation upon the *sententia* driving the efforts of Aeneas during the sack of Troy: *A.* 2.354 *una salus uictis nullam sperare salutem*. Senecan use reinforces the Trojan context: *Tro.* 462 *spes una Phrygibus, unica afflictatae domus*; after *BC: Sil.* 7.1 *interea trepidis Fabius spes unica rebus*.

rebus...adfflictis: cf. Verg. *A.* 1.451f.; Sen. *Med.* 162; after Lucan: *Sil.* 14.440f.; 16.182f.

497 **foret**: 10 n.

patrios excedere muros: *excedo* is much more commonly intransitive; here it means ‘to proceed beyond (boundaries etc.), to move out of (a specified area)’ (*OLD* 6).

488 **inconsulta ruit**: cf. Liv. 3.21.6 *inconsultam turbam* (cf. 495); Sen. *Ep.* 40.4. The main clause and pejorative evaluation are held over in enjambment and terminate at the main caesura for maximum effect.

498–503 Lucan’s simile of a shipwreck amid a storm at sea combines two well-known political metaphors, that of the ship of state and the storm as a symbol for political disorder. The allegory of the ship of state is virtually perennial in Greek and Latin literature, and is at least as old as Heraclitus’ interpretation of Alcaeus (cf. too Schol. *Ar. Vesp.* 29; *NH ad Hor. C.* 1.14). The figure may have been most familiar to Lucan’s original audience via *Hor. C.* 1.14 (500 may amplify details at 1.14.3–6), a poem recognized as allegorical by Quintilian (8.6.44 *nauem pro re publica, fluctus et tempestates pro bellis ciuilibus, portum pro pace atque concordia dicit*). In Lucan’s version particularly striking is the abandonment of the ship by its *magister*, a complete inversion of the usual emphasis upon the helmsman. The storm that causes the shipwreck is also a set piece of poetry (Morford (1967) 20–3). This one clearly evokes Verg. *A.* 1.81–123 (cf. 499, 501, 502), a storm which also foregrounds its own political nuances. The progression in Lucan from storm simile to political chaos is a direct inversion of the Vergilian sequence from natural chaos to a simile of political order at 1.148–53.

498 **turbidus Auster**: (234 n.) the *Auster* is usually associated with storms (Coleman (1977) on Verg. *Ecl.* 5.82); at 9.319–23 it is again coupled with the Syrtes, as it had been at Sen. *Ag.* 480 and would later be at *Sil.* 17.246 f.

499 reppulit: much more commonly limited to military contexts, although in *BC* it is very frequently used of the sea (cf. 2.436, 4.102, 5.648, 6.480, 9.52, 9.450), a use inherited from *Ov. Met.* 15.292.

a Libycis... Syrtibus: another proverbially treacherous detail (cf. 498 *Auster* and *OLD Syrtis*); the collocation is found in identical contexts at *Ov. Am.* 2.16.21 f. *cum domina Libycas ausim perrumpere Syrtes | et dare non aequis uela ferenda Notis*; *Sen. Ag.* 64 f. *non sic Libycis Syrtibus aequor | furit alternos uolueret fluctus*; *Thy.* 291 f. *hac spe subibit gurgitis tumidi minas | dubiumque Libycae Syrtis intrabit fretum*. These details anticipate the events of 9.368–77 esp. 368 f.

immensum... aequor: Vergilian: *G.* 2.541; *A.* 6.355; later at *Sen. Ag.* 410; but many variations are found: *Ov. Met.* 4.689 (*pontus*); *Ep.* 5.61 (*profundum*); *Sil.* 3.538 (*aquae*), 6.523 (*undae*). Also at 5.438 (*mare*).

500 fractaque ueliferi sonuerunt pondera mali: a golden line (40 n.); cf. the details from *Hor. C.* 1.14.3–6 *nonne vides, ut | nudum remigio latus | et malus celeri saucius Africo | antemnaeque gemant*. The sound of the shattering mast is an extension of the more common set piece of the ship's tackle groaning under the strain of the storm: see *NH ad Hor. C.* 1.14.6.

ueliferi... mali: the phrase is bequeathed to *Stat. Silv.* 5.1.244; *V. Fl.* 1.126; the adjective is found before here at *Prop.* 3.9.35; *Ov. Met.* 15.719; *Pont.* 3.2.67; *Sen. Thy.* 129. See also 48 n. on compound adjectives.

pondera mali: also at *Sen. Her. O.* 231.

501 desilit in fluctus deserta puppe magister: corresponds to the senate at line 488 *sedibus exiluiere patres*. *deserta puppe* looks forward to 503 *urbe relictā* and 519 f. *tu... Roma, | deseris*. The imagery is adapted from *Verg. A.* 1.114–16 *ingens a uertice pontus | in puppim ferit: excutitur pronusque magister | uoluitur in caput*.

502 nauitaque: logically, then (cf. 502 *magister*), the *uulgi* at 486 f. *Lucan* prefers the synonym *nauta* (19x/5x) in accordance with epic usage. The archaic non-contracted form is metrically convenient.

nondum sparsa conpage carinae: further details from *Verg. A.* 1.122 f. *laxis laterum compagibus omnes accipiunt inimicum imbrem rimisque faticunt*. These lines also underscore the precipitate

nature of the flight, a moral point already established in this context at 493–5 and about to be revisited emphatically at 519 f. On *conpages* in an explicitly cosmic context see 72 n., although the term here also operates on this level via the metaphor of the ship of state.

503 naufragium sibi quisque facit: Getty explains the clause thus: “‘each man makes shipwreck (i.e. wrecks the ship) to save himself’; in other words the sailors break off or snatch at any loose piece of timber and thus help to wreck the ship in order to support themselves in the water’. But this overinterprets the line to the point where its correspondence with the event with which it is compared breaks down. The clause simply means ‘each man makes a shipwreck for himself’ and refers to the fact that by abandoning ship, each sailor damns his own chances for survival, and (at a stretch) thus contributes to the foundering of his ship. No looting at Rome is described in lines 488–98 to which the destruction of the ship could be made to refer; the citizens are (merely!) abandoning the city (see also Semple (1937) 20 f.).

urbe relicta: cf. Verg. *A.* 9.8 *Aeneas urbe et sociis et classe relicta | sceptris Palatini sedemque petit Euandri*. The phrase is in this *sedes* at Ov. *Met.* 15.487. For this specific context: Vell. Pat. 2.49.4 *Cn. Pompeius consulisque et maior pars senatus, relicta urbe ac deinde Italia, transmisere Dyrrachium*; after Lucan: Stat. *Theb.* 3.195.

504 in bellum fugitur: the paradoxical climax to the *sententia* is held over in enjambment and expressed in remarkably compressed language. Lucan compresses Porcius Latro *apud* Sen. *Contr.* 1.8.1 *Fugit me filius, et quidem ad hostem?* Statius adopts the theme at *Theb.* 7.401 f. *properatur in hostem | more fugae*. For paradox in declamatory *sententiae* see Bonner (1966) 263 f.; for paradox in *BC* see Martindale (1976) 45–54 esp. 46.

504–7 nullum [sc. natum]...eualuit reuocare parens coniunxue maritum | ...aut patrii... | ...lares: explicit attention drawn to the inability of individual family relations and household gods to detain the fleeing citizens effects a strong contrast between the headlong abandonment of Rome and the profound influence of the impulse to preserve the family and household gods upon the hero repeatedly described by Aeneas in *Aeneid* 2: 635 f. (Aeneas declares)

genitor, quem tollere in altos | optabam primum montis primumque petebam; 651–3 (the family begging Anchises not to stay in the city) *nos contra effusi lacrimis coniunxque Creusa | Ascaniusque omnisque domus, ne uertere secum | cuncta pater fatoque urgenti incumbere uellet* (cf. 505 f. *coniunxue maritum | fletibus*); 657–70 esp. 657 f. (Aeneas to Anchises) *mene efferre pedem, genitor, te posse relicto | sperasti tantumque nefas patrio excidit ore?*; 673–8 *ecce autem complexa pedes in limine coniunx | haerebat, paruumque patri tendebat Iulum: | 'si periturus abis, et nos rape in omnia tecum; | sin aliquam expertus sumptis spem ponis in armis, | hanc primum tutare domum. cui paruus Iulus, | cui pater et coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquo?'*; 707–25 and 747–51, detailing the measures taken by Aeneas to escort his family and household gods to safety; 3.11 f. Aeneas defines himself *feror exsul in altum | cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis*.

504 nullum: *sc. natum*, to balance *parens* as at 505 *coniunx* and *maritum*; the two are coupled again at 4.563 *fratribus incurrunt fratres natusque parenti*. For the omission cf. Verg. A. 11. 160 f. (Evander on the death of Pallas) *contra ego uiuendo uici mea fata, superstes | restare ut genitor* (Getty).

iam languidus aeuo: cf. 9.1033 f. *iam languida morte | effigies*. For *languidus* + *abl.*: Cic. Ver. 3.31; Sal. Jug. 51.3; Ov. Met. 2.454.

505 eualuit reuocare: the main verb is only found in the perfect tense in this construction (used again at 4.83 f.), which is Vergilian: A. 7.757 *eualuit neque eum iuuere in uulnera cantus*; cf. also Hor. Ep. 2.1.201; Stat. Theb. 6.877; Silv. 5.2.79. *reuocare* is restated at 509 *ruit inreuocabile uulgus*.

coniunxue: Lucan prefers the poetic *coniunx* (23x) to the prosaic *uxor* (1x).

506 dubiae: ‘uncertain, doubtful’ (OLD 6a).

uota salutis: a line-ending at Germ. Arat. 411.

506–7 uota... | conciperent: cf. 5.104 f. (of Delphi) *haud illic tacito mala uota susurro | concipiunt*. In sacred contexts (often taking the object *uerba*), the verb means ‘to pronounce solemnly, utter (a formula or prayer)’ (OLD 12a).

507–8 **nec limine quisquam haesit**: further details drawn from *Aeneid* 2, the only other place where *limen* is coupled with the verb *haereo*: 2.673 f. *ecce autem complexa pedes in limine coniunx | haerebat*.

508–9 **extremo ... | ... abit uisu**: as will be the case for Pompey at the beginning of his flight from Italy at 3.4–6 *solus ab Hesperia non flexit lumina terra | Magnus, dum patrios portus, dum litora numquam | ad uisus reditura suos*; cf. too Liv. 1.29 *nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas ultimum illud uisuri peruagarentur* (Haskins).

508 **forsitan**: the adverb modifies *extremo* (Getty).

509 **ruit inreuocabile uulgu**s: concludes the narration of the flight and reasserts in compressed form details at 498 [*turba*] *inconsulta ruit* and 504 f. *nullum... | eualuit reuocare*. For the phrase, cf. Ov. *Fast.* 6.598 *attonitum uolgu in arma ruit*. Lucretius had first used *inreuocabilis* (of *aetas*); closer in rhythm and structure to our clause is Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.17 *uolat inreuocabile uerbum*. Of influence on the choice of words may also be Sen. *Ep.* 13.9 *nulli itaque tam perniciosi, tam inreuocabiles quam lymphatici metus sunt; ceteri enim sine ratione, hi sine mente sunt*.

510–11 **o faciles dare summa deos eademque tueri | difficiles**: this *sententia* revisits imagery established at 70–82 esp. 70–2 *inuida fatorum series summisque negatum | stare diu nimioque graues sub pondere lapsus | nec se Roma ferens*, 81 f. *in se magna ruunt: laetis hunc numina rebus | crescendi posuere modum*. Here force is gained from the chiasmic pairing of the antitheses *faciles dare* and *tueri difficiles* (cf. 348–9). For Lucan's use of the apostrophe, see 8–32 n.; for the emphatic placement of the antithetical adjectives, see 142 f. n.; for *sententiae* in BC, see 32 n.

510 **faciles...deos**: cf. Sen. *Ep.* 101.13 *quid huic optes nisi deos faciles?*; Oed. 198 *solum hoc faciles tribuere dei* (Getty); add Ov. *Ep.* 12.84 *sed mihi tam faciles unde meosque deos?*, 16.282 *sic habeas faciles in tua uota deos!*; Met. 5.554 *facilesque deos habuistis*; Pont. 4.4.30 *et fieri faciles in tua uota deos*; after BC: Mart. 1.103.4 *riserunt faciles et tribuere dei*, 12.3.10 *et dare quae faciles uix tribuere dei*, | *nunc licet et fas est*. For *facilis* with the active infinitive: Prop.

1.11.12; Luc. 2.460 f., 3.683; OLD 10; Fantham on 2.460 f. calls it a Graecizing extension of *facilis* + the supine or passive infinitive.

511 **difficiles**: cf. Sen. *Her. F.* 577 f. *deflent Eumenides Threiciam nurum*, | *deflent et lacrimis difficiles dei*.

511–12 **uictisque**... | **gentibus**: these are the peoples of Italy (Housman citing 2.312, 314, 730, 3.83, 7.28, 8.420, 9.560; Mart. 12.6.5).

511–13 **urbem populis uictisque frequentem** | **gentibus et generis, coeat si turba, capacem** | **humani**: cf. the vitriol of 7.404–7 *nulloque frequentem* | *ciue suo Romam sed mundi faece repletam* | *cladis eo dedimus, ne tanto in corpore bellum* | *iam possit ciuile geri*. Here *urbs* may be an implied pun on *orbis*.

urbem... **frequentem**: a frequent expression in Livy (1.9.9, 25.8.9, 26.16.8, 26.16.9, 33.26.9, 34.28.12).

populis... **frequentem**: cf. Plin. *Nat.* 5.53 *inde Africam ab Aethiopia dispescens, etiamsi non protinus populis, feris tamen et beluis frequens siluarumque opifex*.

512 **coeat si turba**: cf. 297.

513 **facilem**... **praedam**: reused at Apul. *Met.* 6.19.14.

uenturo Caesare: not dative ‘by antiptosis’ (Getty), but abl. abs.; cf. Mart. 8.21.1 f *Phosphore, redde diem: quid gaudia nostra moraris?* | *Caesare uenturo, Phosphore, redde diem*.

514 **ignauae**... **manus**: not ‘hands’ (Getty), but ‘hordes’; the decisive parallel is not 9.26 but 4.575 and 7.277.

[**urbem**] **liquere**: The abandonment of the city is stated for the fourth time (cf. 496–8, esp. 503 f. *urbe relicta*, 509). Trojan analogies arise from Naev. *poet.* 23.2 *blande et docte percontat, Aenea quo pacto* | *Troiam urbem liquerit*; cf. also Cic. *Fam.* 16.2.2 *itaque, cum Caesar amentia quadam raperetur et oblitus nominis atque honorum suorum Ariminum, Pisaurum, Anconam, Arretium occupauisset, urbem reliquimus, quam sapienter aut quam fortiter nihil attinet disputari*; Att. 8.8.1 *O rem turpem et ea re miseram! sic enim sentio, id demum aut potius id solum esse miserum quod turpe sit. aluerat Caesarem, eundem repente timere coeperat, condicionem pacis nullam probarat, nihil ad bellum pararat, urbem reliquerat, Picenum amiserat culpa, in Apuliam se compegerat, ibat in Graeciam, omnis nos ἀπροσφωνήτους, expertis*

sui tanti, tam inusitati consili relinquebat; Verg. A. 10.168; Sen. *Phaed.* 1000; Sil. 15.245.

cum pressus ab hoste: cf. 4.94 f. *nulloque obsessus ab hoste* | *miles eget. pressus* is simple for the compound *oppressus*.

515 **externis...in oris**: an elevated turn of phrase; cf. Verg. A. 7.270; Ov. *Met.* 9.19; *Tr.* 3.14.11; V. Fl. 4.159, 5.56.

miles Romanus: in hexameter only here and at Man. 1.910 in this *sedes*.

516 **exiguo...uallo**: cf. 4.168 *illic exiguo paulum distantia uallo* | *castra locant*.

516–7 **exiguo...uallo** | **...subitus rapti...caespitis agger**: the repeated emphasis upon the hastily erected walls of the camp has moral point and looks forward to 520 *tuis...muris*.

516 **effugit**: with obvious point and antithetical force in the context of the simile, since the city is currently being abandoned along with the responsibility of her defence; cf. 489 *fugiens...senatus*, 491 *fugae impetus*, 503 f. *urbe relicta* | *in bellum fugitur*, 522 *Pompeio fugiente*.

nocturna pericula: Livian: 5.47.11.

517 **munimine**: ‘a defensive work, a fortification’ (OLD; 5x in BC) poetic since Verg. G. 2.352, and coined to substitute for the metrically impossible ending *–mentum* (LHS 1.370 f., 2.744 f.; Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.306).

caespitis agger: cf. 5.316 *stetit aggere fulti* | *caespitis intrepidus uultu*.

518 **praebet somnos**: cf. 4.603 f. *ad somnos non terga ferae praeberere cubile* | *adsuerunt*; the collocation is first found at Prop. 4.4.85. For the whole scene, cf. Tib. 1.1.3 f. *quem labor adsiduus uicino terreat hoste*, | *Martia cui somnos classica pulsa fugent*.

securos somnos: again at 3.25, 5.750; cf. *Culex* 160, Stat. *Theb.* 5.119; Mart. 9.92.3.

intra tentoria: again in pointed antithesis to the *altae moenia Romae* (Verg. A. 1.7; cf. 520).

519–20 **audito bellorum nomine... | desereris**: the same abl. abs. occurs at 2.465; cf. Verg. A. 12.697 f. *at pater Aeneas audito nomine Turni* | *deserit et muros et summas deserit arces*.

Roma, | desereris: picks up the theme of desertion explored at the beginning and close of the catalogue of Caesar's Gallic forces at 395, 464. However, this civil war is desertion and abandonment on both sides, and later Caesar will be described in similar terms: 3.298 *ille ubi deseruit trepidantis moenia Romae*. Petr. 123. 222–4 (on the same event) *hos inter motus populus, miserabile uisu, | quo mens icta iubet, deserta ducitur urbe. | gaudet Roma fuga*.

520 nox una tuis non credita muris: the theme is reprised at 8.113 f. (the citizens of Lesbos to Pompey) *oramus sociosque lares dignere uel una | nocte tua*; 10.432 *donata est nox una duci*. The potential devastation of a night's work had been explored in the conflagration at Lyon at Sen. Ep. 91.2 *tot pulcherrima opera, quae singula inlustrare urbes singulas possent, una nox strauit . . . in hac una nox interfuit inter urbem maximam et nullam*. But the one night evoked most prominently here is the stand that is conspicuously *not* made by the *populi Romani* here as in *Aeneid* 2: cf. 2.250, 2.360–2 *nox atra caua circumuolat umbra. | quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando | explicet aut possit lacrimis aequare labores? | urbs antiqua ruit multos dominata per annos*.

521 danda tamen uenia est tantorum danda pauorum: in the deployment of its adverb and the remarkable repetition of the gerundive, this swift conclusion of the preceding scene at Rome unexpectedly weighs up the behaviour of people and senate in lines 486–520 only to urge the reader to absolve both of their flight: the ground is thus set for the devastating and highly compressed summation of Pompey's greater guilt in the abandonment of Rome.

522 Pompeio fugiente timent: Lucan challenges the account of Pompey's strategy at Cic. Att. 7.11.4 *rursus autem ex dolore municipali sermonibusque eorum quos conuenio uidetur hoc consilium exitum habiturum. mira hominum querela est (nescio istic, sed facies ut sciam) sine magistratibus urbem esse, sine senatu. fugiens denique Pompeius mirabiliter homines mouet. quid quaeris? alia causa facta est. nihil iam concedendum putant Caesari*. Petr. 123. 238–44 is expansive by contrast with the present line: *quid tam parua queror? gemino cum consule Magnus, | ille tremor Ponti saeuique repertor Hydaspis | et piratarum scopulus, modo quem ter ouantem | Iuppiter horruerat, quem fracto gurgite Pontus | et ueneratus erat submissa*

Bosphoros unda, | pro pudor, imperii deserto nomine fugit, | ut Fortuna leuis Magni quoque terga uideret.

This unelaborated mention of Pompey and the concision with which he is damned draws sudden attention to what has been absent in the account of Rome's desertion: a hero that might fight on her behalf. Pompey, so frequently associated with Aeneas throughout the poem is here, crucially, unable to play the role required of him. This is a classic example of the effect of Lucan's placing a *sententia* at a terminal point in a passage as a kind of coda: see Bonner (1966) 264–7; 32 n.

522–83 THE PRODIGIES OF CIVIL WAR

Italy is filled with prodigies of civil war.

522–83 comprise one of the most extensive catalogues of civil war *prognostica* in extant Latin, although it clearly draws upon a long-standing and extensive tradition. There are precedents at Ap. Rhod. 4.1284–7; Cic. *N.D.* 2.14, *Div.* 1.17.7–22.6, 1.97 f.; Verg. *G.* 1.464–88; Tib. 2.5.71–8; Ov. *Met.* 15.783–98; Man. 1.906–9; add to these the historical accounts of prodigies preserved in Julius Obsequens 68 f.; at e.g. Cass. Dio 40.17, 42.26, 45.17; App. *B Civ.* 2.36, 4.4.14. After Lucan (and under the combined influence of this passage, 7.151–84, and the lists in Vergil and Ovid) prodigies of war enter the standard furniture of epic poetry: Petr. 122. 127–41; Stat. *Theb.* 7.412–21; Sil. 8.626–55; Q. Smyrn 12.503–20 (*RE* 23.2283–96; Badali (1977) 121–31; Bömer (1969–86) on Ov. *Met.* 15.780–2; Morford (1967) 61; Mynors (1990) on Verg. *G.* 1.469 ff.).

In our passage, 28 individual events are catalogued in descriptions ranging from half a line (549 f.) to seven (571–7), and these prodigies can be grouped by type into eight larger units. There is no consistent movement from one type to the next but occasionally the sequence is logical (as from e.g. 522–44 to 545–9). A clearer priority to the narrator is to encircle his catalogue with two large, detailed sections, the first treating meteorological phenomena (at 522–44) and the last describing prodigies associated with the undead, especially the ghosts

of previous civil wars (at 568–83). In between these large panels, Lucan lists the signs evinced by the natural world (545–9), those associated with sacral fires (549–52), natural disasters (552–5), localized religious prodigies (556–8), portents arising from deformed or supernaturally gifted animals and children (558–63), and prophetic utterances and the behaviour of priests (564–7).

The two most influential precursors for Lucan are Verg. *G.* 1.464–88 and Ov. *Met.* 15.783–98, although Lucan has transposed the context of these lists from the period immediately preceding (Ovid) and following (Vergil) the assassination of Caesar to the period of his invasion of Italy in 49. The ‘correction’ is polemical: the destruction of the dictator is replaced by the destruction of the republic and the implication is clearly that the greater perversion of natural order was Caesar’s invasion of his fatherland rather than his assassination (Martindale (1976) 52; Feeney 271). Lucan also extends his catalogue to be longer than those of both his predecessors combined (Verg.: 26 lines; Ovid: 17; Lucan: 57). The catalogue is consequently cursory in places—the 28 prodigies mentioned in 526–83 average just over 1.5 lines of narrative each—but the list is enlivened by mythological similes and analogies (at 543 f., 552, 574–7). The catalogue is also important in marking the overall structure of the poem’s narrative. Here, at the outset of the war, *prodigia* foreshadow the first phase of the civil war; at 7.151–84, immediately prior to the climax of the civil war at Pharsalus, a similar list of prodigies overshadows the eve of battle.

522–3 *nequa futuri | spes saltem trepidas mentes leuet*: the notion is recast at the opening of the next book: 2.14 f. *sit caeca futuri | mens hominum fati; liceat sperare timent.*

522 *futuri*: to be taken with *saltem*: ‘hope even for the future’.

523 *spes... mentem leuet*: for the subject/object pairing cf. 6.29 *hic auidam belli rapuit spes inproba mentem | Caesaris*; Stat. *Theb.* 1.332 *spes anxia mentem | extrahit*.

trepidus mentes: repeated at 4.701, 6.659; previously at Man. 5.135; contemporaneously at Pers. 5.35; later at Sil. 4.328.

524 *manifesta fides*: cf. 2.1 f. *iamque irae patuere deum manifestaue belli | signa dedit mundus*. To the Vergilian precedents A. 2.309, 3.375 (Getty); add Liv. 6.13.7; *Aetna* 177; after BC: Stat. *Theb.* 6.638.

superi que minaces: for *superi*, see 37 n.; *minaces* is always in this *sedes*.

524–5 **superi... | prodigiis terras inplerunt:** adapts Seneca's prose formulation at *Ben.* 4.25.2 *di autem... uide, quanta cottidie moliantur, quanta distribuant, quantis terras fructibus impleant*.

525 **terras... aethera, pontum:** note the anaphora. These are the three divisions of the natural world. The tripartite division of the world goes back 'to a time before philosophy, when no single term for the universe (κόσμος) yet existed' (Clausen (1994) on Verg. *Ecl.* 4.51); e.g. Hom. *Il.* 15.187–93; Hes. *Theog.* 736–9. The scheme abides in Latin poetry: e.g. Lucr. 1.2–4 *alma Venus, caeli subter labentia signa | quae mare nauigerum, quae terras frugiferentis | concelebras*; Verg. *Ecl.* 4.51 *terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum*; A. 10.101–3 *deum domus alta silescit | et tremefacta solo tellus, silet arduus aether, | tum Zephyri posuere, premit placida aequora pontus*; Ov. *Met.* 1.15 *utque erat et tellus illic et pontus et aer*.

526–9 For comets as prodigies, cf. esp. Theophr. *de Signis* 13, 34, 37; Arat. 926–30 καὶ διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν ὅτ' ἀστέρες αἰσσωσιν | ταρφέα, τοῖς δ' ὅπιθεν ῥυμοὶ ὑπολευκαίνωνται, | δειδέχθαι κείνοις αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἐρχομένοιο | πνεύματος ἣν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐναντίοι αἰσσωσιν, | ἄλλοι δ' ἐξ ἄλλων μερέων; Lucr. 2.206 f. *nocturnasque faces caeli sublime uolantis | nonne uides longos flammarum ducere tractus...?*; Cic. *Cat.* 3.18 *nam ut illa omittam, uisas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces ardoremque caeli*; N.D. 2.14 *tum facibus uisis caelestibus tum stellis is quas Graeci κομήτας nostri cincinnatas uocant*; Div. 1.18.10 f. *Quid uero Phoebi fax, tristis nuntia belli, | Quae magnum ad columen flammato ardore uolabat*, 1.97; Liv. 29.14.3; Verg. *G.* 1.365–7 *saepe etiam stellas uento impendente uidebis | praecipitis caelo labi, noctisque per umbram | flammarum longos a tergo albescere tractus*, 1.487 f. *non alias caelo ceciderunt plura sereno | fulgura nec diri totiens arsere cometae*; Tib. 2.5.71; Ov. *Met.* 15.787 *saepe faces uisae mediis ardere sub astris*; Man. 1.859, 867; Plin. *Nat.* 2.91–4, 97; Sen. *Nat.* 7.1.5; Petr. 122.139 *fax stellis comitata nouis incendia ducit* [sc. *Iuppiter*]; Plut. *Caes.* 63.2; Cass. Dio 37.25.2 (see also TLL 6.1.404.9–39; Bömer (1969–86) on Ov. *Met.* 15.787; Martin (1998) on Arat. 926–32).

526 A golden line (40 n.).

ignota...sidera: i.e. the comets of the next three lines (*OLD sidus* 4; Verg. *A.* 2.700; Plin. *Nat.* 2.92; Stat. *Theb.* 10.145; Tac. *Ann.* 14.22). The word is also used frequently in reference to the *Iulium sidus* (as at Verg. *A.* 8.861; Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.47), a context with obvious relevance here, at the outset of the civil war by which Caesar will attain unequalled supremacy and later apotheosis (see also NH on Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.47). For the phrase *ignota sidera*, cf. Sen. *Suas.* 1.1.15; Sen. *Her. O.* 680 f.

obscurae...noctes: the same conditions prevailed at Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon at 187. The collocation is first in verse at Enn. *trag.* 257 J; Cic. *Arat.* 34.404; Verg. *A.* 4.461; Man. 1.506, 3.310.

527 ardentemque polum: cf. Plin. *Nat.* 2.148 *ipsum ardere caelum minime mirum est et saepius uisum maiore igni nubibus correptis*.

ardentemque...flammi: the same collocation (a variation on the more common *ardere igni/ignibus*) appeared previously at Germ. *Arat.* 577. *ardeo* is often used with reference to supernatural fires (*OLD* 2a) as at Liv. 3.5.14 *caelum uisum est ardere plurimo igni*; Ov. *Met.* 11.523 *fulmineis ardescunt ignibus imbres*.

polum: in its non-specific sense of the sky (*OLD* 2a) as at e.g. Verg. *A.* 2.251.

caeloque uolantes: cf. Verg. *G.* 1.366 *caelo labi* (on the movement of comets). For *uolare* with the plain ablative *caelo*: Verg. *A.* 6.191; Hyg. *Astr.* 2.8.1.13; Man. 5.633; Stat. *Theb.* 6.406.

527–8 ardentemque polum flammis caeloque uolantes | obliquas per inane faces: a common inclusion in catalogues of prodigies: Cic. *Cat.* 3.18 *nam ut illa omittam, uisas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces ardoremque caeli, ut fulminum iactus, ut terrae motus relinquam*; *N.D.* 2.14; *Div.* 1.18; Liv. 29.14.3; Ov. *Met.* 15.787 *saepae faces uisae mediis ardere sub astris*; Man. 1.859, 867; Plin. *Nat.* 2.96; Sen. *Nat.* 7.5.1; Petr. 122. 139; Cass. Dio. 45.17.

uolantes | ...per inane: cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.718 *celeri missus praeceps per inane uolatu*; after BC: Stat. *Theb.* 1.310. *per inane* is frequent in Lucretius (19x). It is used again in BC at 6.731, 9.101.

528 obliquas...faces: adjective for adverb. *faces* is another synonym for comets (*OLD* 4a; Bailey (1947) on Lucr. 2.206). For the phrase, cf. Prop. 4.6.29 f. *astitit Augusti puppim super, et noua flamma | luxit in*

obliquam ter sinuata facem; Serv. A. 10.272 records Avienus' differentiation of specific comets according to their various characteristics: *stella, quae obliquam facem post se trahens quasi crinem facit, Hippius uocatur*.

528–9 crinemque... | ...cometen: note the punning terms beginning and ending the clause (529 n.). *crinem* is the tail of a comet (OLD 3b); cf. Plin. Nat. 2.89 *cometas Graeci uocant, nostri crinitas, horrentes crine sanguineo et comarum modo in uertice hispida*.

timendi | sideris: Seneca had recounted the fear generated by comets at Nat. 7.1.5 *si rarus et insolitae figurae ignis apparuit, nemo non scire quid sit cupit et, oblitus aliorum, de aduenticio quaerit, ignarus utrum debeat mirari an timere. non enim desunt qui terreant, qui significationes eius graues praedicent. sciscitantur itaque et cognoscere uolunt prodigium sit an sidus*.

529 terris mutantem regna cometen: for belief (and scepticism) in this ability, see Sen. Nat. 7.17.2; Plin. Nat. 2.92; V. Fl. 6.607 f. *iratoque uocati | ab Ioue fatales ad regna iniusta cometae*; Stat. Theb. 1.708 *quae mutant sceptrum cometae*; Sil. 1.461 *crine ut flammifero terret fera regna cometes*, 8.636 f. *non unus crine corusco | regnorum euersor rubuit letale cometes*; Tac. Ann. 14.22 *inter quae sidus cometes effulsit; de quo uulgi opinio est tamquam mutationem regis portendat*; Suet. Nero 36.1 *stella crinita, quae summis potestatibus exitium portendere uulgo putatur, per continuas noctes oriri coeperat*.

cometen: the name is derived from the notion of the comet's 'hair' (κόμη; κομήτης) (Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.272).

530–2 Lightning without thunder in a clear sky is a bad omen, as at Verg. G. 1.487 (Skutsch on Enn. Ann. 541 Sk.). Some of the many instances of lightning as portent have been assembled at TLL 6.1526.48–78. For the portentous nature of thunder or lightning in a clear sky: Hom. Od. 20.113 f.; Cic. Carmen 6.23 f.; Verg. G. 487 f.; Ov. Fast. 3.369 f.; Plin. Nat. 2.137; Suet. Aug. 95. Serv. A. 2.693, 9.630–1 (NH on Hor. Carm. 1.34; Hardie (1994) on Verg. A. 9.630–1).

530–2 fulgura fallaci... | ...denso dedit... | ...lumine lampas: note the alliterative couplets scattered throughout the sentence.

530 fulgura fallaci micuerunt crebra sereno: a golden line (40 n.). The model is Verg. G. 1.487 f. (quoted at 526–9 n.). The ominous nature of the event in both passages resides in the frequency of the lightning as much as in the clear conditions in which it appears: Serv. G. 1.488.

fulgura: strictly speaking, a *fulgor* is a flash of lightning (TLL 6.1.1518.66–1519.31), a *fulmen* is a thunderbolt. The distinction is often confounded (especially in poetry: OLD 3), but it is preserved here, as is clear from 533–5. Sen. Nat. 2.16.1 is succinct: *quid ergo inter fulgurationem et fulmen interest? dicam. fulguratio est late ignis explicitus, fulmen est coactus ignis et in impetum iactus.*

fallaci...sereno: the use of *serenus* as a neuter substantive in the ablative with or without *in* means ‘in a cloudless sky’ (OLD 1a). For the phrase: Verg. A. 5.850 f. *Aenean credam (quid enim?) fallacibus auris | et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni?*

531 denso...aere: the opposite conditions prevail after the storm at 4.123 *iam rarior aer*; cf. Ov. Met. 15.250 *ignis enim densum spissatus in aera transit*; Sen. Nat. 2.16.1; 7.20.2 *siue compresso aere et in ardorem coacto*; 7.21.1 *Placet ergo nostris cometas, sicut faces, sicut tubas trabesque et alia ostenta caeli, denso aere creari.* Nutting (1934) 49–51 defends ΩC *tenso*.

532 nunc iaculum longo, nunc sparso lumine lampas: anaphora, chiasmus, and zeugma all combine to achieve a mimetic approximation of the sudden bursts of light.

iaculum...lampas: both are attested as types of lightning flashes, but the point is the portentous nature of these shapes appearing in the sky. The disparity between the description of *lampades* at Plin. Nat. 2.96 *lampadas uocant plane faces...distant quod faces uestigia longa faciunt priore ardente parte* and the phrase *sparso lumine* should caution against taking this line as simply referring to different types of lightning. As types of lightning, *iacula* (here singularly appropriate as a portent of war) are found in late sources (TLL 7.1.77.58–70). *lampades* appear earlier and more frequently (since Accius: TLL 7.2.910.20–9) and are found again at 10.502, and later at Sil. 1.359; Stat. Theb. 10.470.

533–4 emicuit...tacitum sine nubibus... | fulmen: the silence and the absence of clouds underscore the prodigious nature of the lightning

(530–2 n.). For the usual conditions for thunder and lightning: Lucr. 6.99–101 *nec fit enim sonitus caeli de parte serena, | uerum ubi cumque magis denso sunt agmine nubes, | tam magis hinc magno fremitus fit murmure saepe*; 6.400 f. *denique cur numquam caelo iacit undique puro | Iuppiter in terras fulmen sonitusque profundit?*; Ov. *Met.* 8.339 *ut excussis elisi nubibus ignes*; Sen. *Nat.* 2.12.5 f.; Luc. 1.151, 3.409 f.

emicuit ... | fulmen: a pointed detail reprising Caesar's introductory simile at 151–3 (151–7 n., 534 n.).

533 **sine nubibus:** cf. Ov. *Ars* 3.173 (Getty); add Cic. *Arat.* fr. 34.192.

534 **Arctois rapiens de partibus ignem:** mirroring Caesar's own advance from the North. This nuance was not lost on Silius, who adapts it to the circumstances of Cannae at 8.650 f. *axe super medio, Libyes a parte, coruscae | in Latium uenere faces*.

535 **percussit Latiare caput:** further detail with specific relevance to Caesar; *Latiare* is used only here and in the prayer of Caesar at the Rubicon (198 n.). For *caput* as the pinnacle of a mountain: OLD 9b.

535–7 The daytime apparition of stars.

535 **stellaeque minores:** i.e. those other than the moon and sun, as made clear at Hor. *Epod.* 15.1 f. *nox erat et caelo fulgebat Luna sereno | inter minora sidera*; *Carm.* 1.12.46–8 *micat inter omnis | Iulium sidus uelut inter ignis | luna minores*; cf. also Ov. *Met.* 6.368; Sen. *Phaed.* 748; *Nat* 7.12.4.

536 **per uacuum...tempus:** all commentaries take the adjective *uacuum* to refer to the absence of the sun. But this is unlikely and tautological within this clause (cf. 536 *noctis*, affirming the absence of the sun and 537 *diem* its presence), and ignores the idiom *uacuum tempus*, for which cf. 3.26 (Julia to Pompey) '*nullum uestro uacuum sit tempus amoris | sed teneat Caesarque dies et Iulia noctes*': a broad periphrasis for *otium*. This is the meaning of *uacuum tempus* where it appears elsewhere in Latin poetry and prose (Cic. *Rep.* 1.14.10; *Leg.* 1.8.18, 1.9.3; *Q. fr.* 2.14.2, 3.4.4 *non modo tempus sed etiam animum uacuum ab omni cura*; Liv. 25.34.5, 36.23.6; Ov. *Pont.* 4.5.25; *Dig.* 41.3.31.5). Here *uacuum* underscores the stillness of human activity throughout the night (cf. the phrase *intempesta nocte*) during which the stars pass over unnoticed by human beings: it contrasts this unnatural, highly visible, daytime appearance: see Roche (2008) 140 f.

decurrere: ‘to travel their course’ (OLD 5b): often of heavenly bodies.

537 in medium uenere diem: adapted at Stat. *Theb.* 2.52 f. *saepe Eumenidum uocesque manusque | in medium sonuere diem.*

537–9 The eclipse of the moon. A similarly supernatural occurrence of this phenomenon occurs at 6.499–504 to illustrate the power of the Thessalian witches:

illis et sidera primum
praecipiti deducta polo, Phoebeque serena
non aliter diris uerborum obsessa uenenis
palluit et nigris terrenisque ignibus arsit,
quam si fraterna prohiberet imagine tellus
insereretque suas flammis caelestibus umbras;

Other accounts of lunar eclipses are found at Lucr. 5.762–70; Cic. *Div.* 1.18, 1.121, 2.17; *Resp.* 1.23; Verg. *G.* 1.467 f. *cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine textit | impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem*; Liv. 38.36.4; Ov. *Met.* 15.789 f. *caerulus et uultum ferrugine Lucifer atra | sparsus erat*; Sen. *Thy.* 789–801; Val. Max. 8.11.1; Tac. *Ann.* 1.28.

537 cornuque coacto: as commentators since *Comm. Bern.* (*pleno orbe*) have realized, this refers to the moon being completely full. There is an almost stock Ovidian *color* imported in the details: cf. Ov. *Ep.* 2.3 *cornua cum lunae pleno semel orbe coissent*; *Met.* 2.344 *luna quater iunctis inplerat cornibus orbem*; 7.179 f. *tres aberant noctes, ut cornua tota coirent | efficerentque orbem*; 7.530 f. *dumque quater iunctis expleuit cornibus orbem | Luna*; 10.295 f. *iamque coactis | cornibus in plenum nouiens lunaribus orbem*; *Fast.* 2.175 *luna nouum decies inplerat cornibus orbem*. These details are also found at Sen. *Med.* 97 f. *cum Phoebe solidum lumine non suo | orbem circuitis cornibus alligat*; *Phaed.* 744–7 *clarius quanto micat orbe pleno | cum suos ignes coeunte cornu | iunxit et curru properante pernox | exerit uultus rubicunda Phoebe*. Getty’s inferences regarding the time sequence of Caesar’s invasion and the nearest possible lunar eclipse are less help than the broader literary context of Lucan’s imagery.

538–44 Note the sequence of consecutive lines (reprised at 544) with noun and adjective pairs in agreement at the main caesura and the end of the line.

538 **toto...orbe**: of the moon's disk: cf. Ov. *Ep.* 2.5, *Fast.* 3.345, 353; Curt. 6.4.16; Stat. *Achil.* 1.231 f. *monstrat iter totoque effulgurat orbe | Cynthia.*

redderet: 'reflect' (OLD 5a).

fratrem: the notion that the moon reflects the light of the sun was first promulgated by Thales: Aet. 358 *Θαλῆς πρῶτος ἔφη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φωτίζεσθαι* [*sc. ἡ σελήνη*] (cf. Costa (1973) on Sen *Med.* 96–8 with references).

539 **terrarum**: *sc. orbis.*

subita: note the suddenness of the pallor at the point of total eclipse; cf. Cic. *Div.* 1.18.8 f. *cum claram speciem concreto lumine luna | abdidit et subito stellanti nocte perempta est* (Getty); add Cic. *Rep.* 1.23 *quod serena nocte subito candens et plena luna defecisset*; Val. Max. 8.11.1; Tac. *Ann.* 1.28.1 *nam luna claro repente caelo uisa languescere.*

percussa: cf. Lucr. 5.705 *luna potest solis radiis percussa nitere.*

expalluit: the compound appears only here in BC. Elsewhere the simple form is used of the moon: cf. 5.549, 6.502 (also in eclipse).

umbra: cf. Cic. *Div.* 2.17 *illa [sc. luna] e regione solis facta incurrat in umbram terrae* (Getty).

540 **ipse...Titan**: marks the climax of the meteorological portents, as well as the final and most important unit in the tripartite sequence 535–44 *stellaeque minores...Phoebe...Titan*. For the omen as a *prognosticon* of war: Ap. Rhod. 4.1286; Verg. *G.* 1.467; Ov. *Met.* 15.785 f.

caput...Titan cum ferret: cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.30 f. *candidus Oceano nitidum caput abdiderat Sol, | et caput extulerat densissima sidereum Nox*; [Tib.] 3.7.123 *splendidior liquidis cum Sol caput extulit undis*; Sen. *Her. O.* 488 f. *cum ferens Titan diem | lassam rubenti mergit Oceano rotam*; *Ilias* 158 *et nitidum Titan radiis caput extulit undis*. Getty contended that *ferret* stands in for *efferreret*; he seems to have been misled by the Ovidian *comparandum* (cited above) into supplying a verb form appropriate for sunrise (such as we see in all of the passages cited here), but this is not the case here (540 n. *medio...Olympo*).

medio...Olympo: not 'in the zodiac' (Getty), but at the highest point in the sky (cf. OLD *Olympus* 1c; OLD *medius* 2) and therefore

halfway through the sun's journey; that is 'at midday' (cf. *OLD medius* 6); cf. Man. 3.254 f. *tunc etenim solum bis senas tempora in horas | aequa patent, medio quod currit Phoebus Olympo*. For the phrase: Verg. A. 10.216 *Phoebe medium pulsabat Olympum*; Ov. *Fast.* 5.27; Man. 1.634; Sen. *Thy.* 791–3 *quo uertis iter | medioque diem perdis Olympo? | cur, Phoebe, tuos rapis aspectus?*

541 condidit ardentis atra caligine currus: note the alliterative pattern of 'c' and 'a'. *condidit...caligine* is a frequent alliterative collocation (Verg. A. 11.187; Germ. *Arat.* fr. 4.45; Sen. *Her. F.* 92; Sil. 2.611, 9.513; *Ilias* 465). For *caligo* see Tarrant (1976) on Sen. Ag. 473, who cites ἀχλύς at Ap. Rhod. 2.1103; Ov. *Met.* 1.365; Sen. *Thy.* 993 f.

ardentis...currus: cf. 48 *flammigeros Phoebi...currus*.

atra caligine: another frequent combination: Fur. Ant. *Poet.* 2; Verg. A. 9.36, 11.876; Stat. *Theb.* 10.735; Sil. 9.513, 14.313. The adjective *ater* is less significant as a term of colour than as a vector of strongly emotional and sinister nuances ('deadly, ghastly, dreadful', Fordyce (1977) on Verg. A. 7.525; Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.77).

542 inuoluitque orbem: i.e. *suum* (ASL); cf. Verg. A. 1.198 *inuoluere diem nimbi*.

gentesque coegit: cf. Aug. *Anc.* 5.49 *exercitus meus Dacorum gentes imperia populi Romani perferre coegit*.

543 desperare diem: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.283 f. [*feruntur*] *occiduum longe Titana secuti | desperasse diem*.

543–4 fugiente... | sole: simple for the compound *refugiente* (Getty). The simple verb is often used of astronomical phenomena, frequently of the sun in decline or eclipse (*TLL* 6.1482.44–60); cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.16.6f. *sol, | laeuum discedens curru fugiente*; Ov. *Am.* 1.5.5 *fugiente...Phoebo*; Sen. *Thy.* 776; *Phaed.* 679; Sil. 10.538.

543 per ortus: cf. 683; Sen. *Med.* 31 [*Sol*] *non redit in ortus et remetitur diem?* This use of *per* to denote movement towards something (infringing on the normal use of *in*) has a precedent at Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.61 *iter per Siciliam facere uoluit*; Att. 12.28.3, but it is mostly found in late sources (*TLL* 10.1.1141.40–58; LHS 240;

Hudson-Williams (1984) 453). As a line ending, the collocation occurs only here, 2.642, and at Sil. 15.176.

544 **Thyesteae**: a civil war paradigm *par excellence* that also revisits BC's thematic preoccupation with the breakdown, transgression, or inversion of normal family relations (1 n.). The moment of the eclipse during Thyestes' unwitting consumption of his own murdered children is visited early and frequently: Eur. *El.* 726–36; *IT* 816; Or. 1001–6; Pl. *Plt.* 269a; Acc. *Trag.* 223–5; Hyg. *Fab.* 88; *Aetna* 20; Ov. *Am.* 3.12.39; *Ars* 1.327–30, 3.12.39; *Tr.* 2.1.391 f.; *Ep.* 16.207 f.; *Pont.* 4.6.47 f.; Man. 3.18 f., 5.463 f.; Stat. *Theb.* 4.307 f.; *Silv.* 5.3.96; *Anth. Pal.* 9.98 (Tarrant (1976) on Sen. *Ag.* 908 f.). For Lucan's first readers, the most obvious touchstone will have been Seneca's full-scale treatment of the myth (cf. esp. *Thy.* 1035 f.). The theme of the eclipse is revisited in this same mythological context during the battle of Pharsalus (providing further thematic links between books one and seven: see *Intro.* §3) at 7.451–4 [*Iuppiter*] *astra Thyestae | intulit et subitis damnauit noctibus Argos: | tot similis fratrum gladios patrumque gerenti | Thessaliae dabit ille diem?* For the adjectival form *Thyesteus*: Cic. *Pis.* 43; Hor. *Epod.* 5.86; Ov. *Ars* 1.327; *Met.* 15.462; *Pont.* 4.6.47.

noctem duxere: i.e. *sibi induxere*; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 5.163 *at simul inducent obscura crepuscula noctem*; Luc. 6.828 *et caelo lucis ducente colorem*; V. Fl. 1.306 *incertus si nubila duxerit aether*; Stat. *Achil.* 2.21 *et iam ardua ducere nubes | incipit et longo Scyros discedere ponto*.

545–7 BC adopts and expands the civil war portent at Verg. *G.* 1.471–3 *quotiens Cyclopum efferuere in agros | uidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam, | flammaramque globos liquefactaque uoluere saxa!*; cf. Lucr. 6.639–46 on the power of this portent. The same imagery is reprised in the description of Caesar's contained *furor* at 10.447 f. *nec secus in Siculis fureret tua flamma cauernis, | obstrueret summam siquis tibi, Mulciber, Aetnam*; cf. also *Ilias* 857 f. *excitat Aetnaeos calidis fornacibus ignes | Mulciber*.

545 **ora ... laxauit**: adapted to necromancy at 6.566 f. *conpressaque dentibus ora | laxauit*.

Siculae ... Aetnae: the use of this geographically specific and redundant adjective imparts an exotic flavour to the line (64 n.).

The combination is previously at Ov. *Ib.* 415; after here at Stat. *Achil.* 1.824; Sil. 8.614.

Mulciber: on his name: Fest. 129.5 *Mulciber: Volcanus a molliendo scilicet ferro dictus. mulcere enim mollire siue lenire est* (RE 16.494.5–495.46; Costa (1973) on Sen. *Med.* 824 f.); for the scene: Sil. 12.140–2, 14.55–61.

546–7 The subject of both *tulit* and *cecidit* is *ignis* (Hudson-Williams (1969) 134; cf. Housman on 1.102).

546 **uertice prono:** the adjective means ‘inclining downwards’ (*TLL* 10.2.1933.48–61); cf. Luc. 1.573; Col. 10.1.1.247.

547 **in Hesperium . . . latus:** the Italian coast; cf. Verg. *G.* 3.418 [*pon-tus*] *Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit*; after Lucan: Sen. *Her. O.* 80 f. *Siculus Hesperium latus | tangat Pelorus, una iam tellus erit*; Sil. 3.701–4 *cerno | Graduumque truce[m] currus iam scandere et atram | in latus Hesperium flammam expirare furentis | cornipedes*.

547 **atra Charybdis:** a break from the usual epithets of rapacity associated with Charybdis; only here and in the same *sedes* at Sil. 14.474.

548 **sanguineum . . . mare:** the collocation is only here and at Sen. *Thy.* 372 f. This imagery will be realized throughout the course of BC’s narrative: 2.209–20 esp. 209 f. *congesta recepit | omnia Tyrrhenus Sullana cadauera gurgis* and 219 f. *tandem Tyrrhenas uix eluctatus in undas | sanguine caeruleum torrenti diuidit aequor*; 2.713 *hic primum rubuit ciuili sanguine Nereus*; 3.572 f. *cruor altus in unda | spumat, et obducti concreto sanguine fluctus*; 4.566–8 *iam latis uiscera lapsa | semianimes traxere foris multumque cruorem | infudere mari*.

fundo torsit: cf. Sil. 3.50 *imo freta contorquet Neptunia fundo*; 3.464 f. *stagnisque refusus | torsit harenoso minitanti[m] murmura fundo*.

flebile: the neuter of the adjective, used adverbially, as at e.g. Ov. *Rem.* 36 (*TLL* 6.891.31–42).

548–9 **saeui | latrauere canes:** the dogs are Scylla’s: Prop. 4.4.40 [*Scylla*] *candidaque in saeuos inguina uersa canes*; Ov. *Met.* 7.64 f. *cinctaque saeuis | Scylla rapax canibus Siculo latrare profundo*; Sil. 5.135 f. *Scylla super fracti contorquens pondera remi | instabat saeuos-que canum pandebat hiatus*. For the phrase, cf. Verg. *A.* 5.257 *saeuitque*

canum latratus in auras. For the howling of dogs as an omen: Verg. *G.* 1.470, 485 f.; Ov. *Met.* 15.797; Sen. *Oed.* 178 f.; Stat. *Theb.* 4.429.

549–50 Vestali raptus ab ara | ignis: an inversion of the preservation of Vesta's fire in the flight from Troy at Verg. *A.* 2.295–6. This preservation of the fire on Vesta's altar was paramount, since it was held to be co-requisite to the preservation of the Roman race. Cf. Beard, North, and Price (1998) 52 f.: 'The Vestals represented a peculiarly extreme version of the connection between the religious life of the home and of the community: if anything went wrong in their house, the threat was to the *salus*... of Roman people... The significance of the flame on their hearth must... lie in its link with the foundation, generation and continuity of the race.' (Koch (1960) 11–16; Scullard (1981) 149 f.; Plut. *Numa* 9.5 f.).

549 raptus: *sc. est*.

550 ostendens confectas flamma Latinas: an allusion to the bonfire that announced to the cities of Latium the culmination of the annual *Feriae Latinae* at Alba Longa; cf. 5.402 [*Iuppiter*] *uidit flammifera confectas nocte Latinas*. *confectas* is here 'to bring to completion' (OLD 9a). The reference has a special point. In December 49 Caesar celebrated the *Feriae Latinae* on one of the eleven days he delayed at Rome *en route* from Spain to Greece: Caes. *Civ.* 3.2.1 *his rebus et feriis Latinis comitiisque omnibus perficiendis xi dies tribuit dictaturaque se abdicat et ab urbe proficiscitur Brundisiumque peruenit*; Lucan has deliberately transposed the date (Lintott (1971) 489). The festival's date was fixed for each year by the incoming consuls and the central act was the sacrifice and communal feast in honour of Jupiter *Latiaris* performed by delegations from the Latin cities (originally as members of the Latin League). Its importance is attested by the presence at Alba Longa of the consuls and all senior magistrates (Scullard (1981) 111–15).

551 scinditur in partes: cf. Ov. *Tr.* 5.5.36 *scinditur in partes atra fauilla duas*; Sen. *Oed.* 321–3 *sed ecce pugnax ignis in partes duas | discedit et se scindit unius sacri | discors fauilla*; Quint. *Decl.* 365.7.5; Dig. 10.1.4.2, 10.2.48.3, 45.1.85.1.

geminoque cacumine: for the phrase (in different contexts), cf. Liv. 36.24.9; after Lucan: Plin. *Nat.* 18.54.

552 **Thebanos imitata rogos**: another classic civil war narrative, treated most recently for Lucan's audience by Seneca in *Phoenissae*. The moment the sons of Oedipus were cremated together, the funereal fire split in two, signifying their ongoing *discordia*. The scene is frequently treated: Callim. *Aet.* 105; Paus. 9.18.3 *τούτοις* [*sc. τοῖς Οἰδίποδος*] *δὲ ἐναγιζόντων αὐτῶν τὴν φλόγα, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς καπνὸν διχῇ δίστασθαι*; Hyg. *Fab.* 68; Ov. *Tr.* 5.5.33; Philostr. *Imag.* 2.29; Stat. *Theb.* 1.35 f.; 12.429–46, esp. 341 f. *exundant diuiso uertice flammae | alternosque apices abrupta luce coruscant*; Sil. 16. 546–8 *nam corpora iunctus | una cum raperet flamma rogos, impius ignis | dissiluit, cineresque simul iacuisse negarunt*.

552–3 **cardine tellus | subsedit**: cf. 6.481 f. *terra quoque inmoti concussit ponderis axes, | et medium uergens titubauit nisus in orbem* (Housman). The *cardo* is one of the two celestial poles; the action here causes the phenomena of the next three lines (Semple (1937) 21).

553 **subsedit**: 'to sink to a lower level, subside; (of a mass) to give way as the result of a disturbance, collapse, subside' (*OLD* 5); a prodigy that operates within the epic's preoccupation with ruination and weight (5, 24–6, 71, 72 nn.).

Alpes: a frequent locus for portents and earthquakes: Verg. *G.* 1.475 *insolitis tremuerunt motibus Alpes*; Plin. *Nat.* 2.195 *exploratum mihi est Alpes Appenninumque saepius tremuisse*; Sil. 8.648 *non Alpes sedere loco*.

553–4 **ueterem . . . niuem**: cf. Liv. 21.36.5.

554 **discussere niuem**: cf. Caes. *Gal.* 7.8.2; Sen. *Oed.* 176; Curt. 7.3.10; V. Fl. 5.174.

554–5 **Tethys maioribus undis | . . . impleuit**: cf. Verg. *G.* 1.31 *teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis*; Sil. 14.586 f. *Cyanen lateque palustribus undis | stagnantem Stygio Cocyti oppleuit odore*. For *maioribus undis*, cf. 4.143 [*Sicoris*] *dat poenas maioris aquae*.

Tethys: 414 n.

555 **Hesperiam Calpen**: Gibraltar: Mela 1.27, 2.95; Plin. *Nat.* 3.5.10; for the epithet: cf. Sen. *Her. O.* 1253 *Hibera Calpe*; for the sea's impact upon Calpe: Mela 1.27; Sil. 5.395–400, 7.434, 9.319 f.

556 indigetes fleuisse deos: understood as being indigenous gods rather than foreign gods imported into Italy (*dei nouensides*), but the precise meaning is elusive (*OLD indiges*; TLL 7.1177.57–70; Mynors (1990) on Verg. G. 1.498 ff.). For gods weeping as a portent of war: Ap. Rhod. 4.1284; Verg. G. 1.480 *maestum inlacrimat templis ebur*; Tib. 2.5.77 *simulacra deum lacrimas fudisse tepentes*; Ov. Met. 15. 792 *mille locis lacrimauit ebur*. For the phrase: Prop. 2.16.54 *deceptus quoniam fleuit et ipse deus*.

urbisque laborem: i.e. the pain or distress of the city (*OLD labor* 6b); cf. Aeneas to Hector: Verg. A. 2.284 f. *post uarios hominumque urbisque labores | defessi aspiciamus!*

557 testatos sudore Lares: cf. Cic. Div. 1.98; Verg. G. 1.480 *aeraque sudant*; Sinon on the Palladium at Verg. A. 2.171–4 *nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstros*. | *uix positum castris simulacrum: arsere coruscae | luminibus flammae arrectis, salsusque per artus | sudor iit*; Stat. Theb. 4.734 *Tyrios sudare lares*.

557–8 Note the strong alliteration of ‘d’ and ‘s’.

delapsaque templis | dona suis: cf. Cic. Div. 1.19.

558 dirasque diem foedasse uolucres: for the omen cf. Verg. G. 1.470 f. *obscaeque canes importunaeque uolucres | signa dabant* (cf. A. 3.262); Tac. Hist. 3.56. The adjective *dirus* is in its primary sense associated with the ominous, the awful, the dire, the dreadful etc. (*OLD* 1; cf. LSJ δεινός I); it has often qualified *uolucres*: Cic. Tusc. 2.24.12; Verg. A. 8.235; V. Fl. 4.79; Stat. Theb. 2.522, 3.510; Sil. 13.597. For *diem foedasse*, cf. Luc. 9.461 f. *quantumque licet consurgere fumo | et uiolare diem*; Claud. Rapt. Pros. 1.164. For the prosody of *uolucres*: 259 n.

559 accipimus: the only attempt in this catalogue at distancing the narrator from the veracity of the supernatural events he is relating (Feeney 271).

559–60 feras... | audaces media posuisse cubilia Roma: adjective for adverb. For the omen cf. esp. Hor. Ep. 16.10 (again in the context of civil war); also Liv. 12.29.2; Verg. G. 1.486 *per noctem resonare lupis ululantibus urbes*; Ov. Met. 15.796 f. *inque foro circumque domos et templa deorum | nocturnos ululasse canes*; Sil. 8.638. *posuisse cubilia* plays off the military term *castra ponere*: cf. Verg. A. 6.274; Stat. Theb. 2.37.

561–3 **tum pecudum faciles humana ad murmura linguae, | monstrosique hominum partus numeroque modoque | membrorum:** note the pronounced alliteration of –m–/–um–/–mu– sounds in these lines.

561 **tum pecudum faciles humana ad murmura linguae:** for the omen, cf. Liv. 3.10.6 *bouem locutam, cui rei priore anno fides non fuerat, creditum*; Verg. G. 1.478 *pecudesque locutae*; Plin. Nat. 8.183 *est frequens in prodigiis priscorum bouem locutum, quo nuntiato senatum sub diu haberi solitum*; the phraseology is adapted to a new context at 6.685–7 *tum uox Lethaeos cunctis pollentior herbis | excantare deos confundit murmura primum | dissona et humanae multum discordia linguae*.

562 **monstrosique hominum partus numeroque modoque | membrorum:** Seneca uses *monstrosus* of deformed children at *Dial.* 3.15.2 (TLL 8.1455.34–53). For the phenomenon: *Dig.* 1.5.14 *non sunt liberi, qui contra formam humani generis conuerso more procreantur: ueluti si mulier monstrosus aliquid aut prodigiosus enixa sit. partus autem, qui membrorum humanorum officia ampliauit, aliquatenus uidetur effectus et ideo inter liberos connumerabitur*. For its portentous nature: Cic. *Div.* 1.93, 121; Man. 4.101–3 *permiscet saepe ferarum | corpora cum membris hominum: non seminis ille | partus erit*. On adjectives in –osus, see Ross (1969) 53–60; Knox (1986) 90–101.

hominum partus: cf. Man. 4.377 *confusique fluunt partus hominum atque ferarum*.

numeroque modoque: collocated at Colum. 1.6.1, 3.10.14.

563 **matremque suos conterrui infans:** Getty adduces Claudianus, *In Eutropium* 1.1 *semiferos partus metuendaque pignora matri*; Dracontius, *Laudes Dei* 1.45–7 *infantem discors natura biformem | protulit inparibus membris numeroque modoque | et pauet infelix enixa puerpera natum*; Haskins compares Shakespeare *Richard III* 1.2.21–4 ‘If ever he have child, abortive be it, | Prodigious, and untimely brought to life, | Whose ugly and unnatural aspect | May fright the hopeful mother at the view’.

564–5 As was the tendency on the eve of the Peloponnesian War: Thuc. 2.8.2 *καὶ πολλὰ μὲν λόγια ἐλέγετο, πολλὰ δὲ χρησμολόγοι ἦδον ἔν τε τοῖς μέλλουσι πολεμήσειν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν*.

564 **diraque**: see 558 n.

Cumanae... uatis: originally, the collection of oracular utterances attributed to the Sibyl of Cumae had no prophetic function, but was consulted to find how best to appease the gods. In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, three books of collected verses were imported to Rome (Gell. 1.19) and entrusted to a priestly college, later *duouiri*, finally *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* (cf. 599 *qui fata deum secretaque carmina seruant*); they were consulted by senatorial command only. Their housing in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.62) implies an association with the cult of the Capitoline triad. After their destruction in the fire of 83 bc, they were re-collected and eventually housed in the temple of Palatine Apollo by Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 31.1). See Wissowa (1912) 536 f.; Ogilvie (1965) on Liv. 5.13.5; Austin (1977) on Verg. *A.* 6.42–76, on Verg. *A.* 6.71; Parke (1988) esp. 136–51; Beard, North, and Price (1998) 62 f. (with references). For the phrase: Verg. *Ecl.* 4.4 *ultima Cumaei uenit iam carminis aetas* (also in the context of civil war); again at Luc. 5.183, 8.824.

565–7 **Bellona... | ... | ... Galli**: Juv. 6.511–21 elucidates the association:

ecce furentis
Bellonae matrisque deum chorus intrat et ingens
semiuir, obsceno facies reuerenda minori,
mollia qui rapta secuit genitalia testa
iam pridem, cui rauca cohors, cui tympana cedunt
plebeia et Phrygia uestitur bucca tiara.
grande sonat metuique iubet Septembris et austri
aduentum, nisi se centum lustrauerit ouis
et xerampelinas ueteres donauerit ipsi,
ut quidquid subiti et magni discriminis instat
in tunicas eat et totum semel expiet annum.

The sanctuary of the Magna Mater at Ostia may corroborate this association: it included a shrine of Bellona among other deities (Vermaseren (1977–89) 3.107–19; Beard, North, and Price (1998) 280).

565 **Bellona**: a Roman goddess of war—as her name suggests (for the older form *Duellona*, cf. e.g. *CIL* 10.104.2; Varro *Ling.* 5.73, 7.49)—although, strictly speaking, not war proper but the one who brings about victory in war for Rome. The presence of her name in

the formula of *deuotio* at Liv. 8.9.6 suggests the antiquity of her worship at Rome, despite the lateness of her temple in the Campus Martius (c. 290s BC) and her identification with various other divinities. In her temple the senate met to deliberate triumphs for returning generals and war was declared by the ritual casting of a first spear by a *fetialis* in an area before it (Serv. A. 9.52; Wissowa (1912) 151–3, 348–50; Dumézil (1970) 390–2; Beard, North, and Price (1998) 132–4). Her presence here is probably derived less from these specific details than from her appearance at Verg. A. 8.700–4 *saeuit medio in certamine Mauors | caelatus ferro, tristesque ex aethere Dirae, | et scissa gaudens uadit Discordia palla, | quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello*.

sectis...lacertis: reused at Juv. 6.106.

566 cecinere deos: i.e. *deorum mentem* (Getty); cf. Prop. 4.1b.104 *sibi commissos fibra locuta deos* (Housman); cf. *OLD* *cano* 8a.

crinemque rotantes: cf. Juv. 6.316f. *attonitae crinemque rotant ululantque Priapi | maenades*; Apul. *Met.* 8.27.15; Anon. *Epici et Lyrici* 74 *Cybele rotabo crines*.

566–7 crinemque...|sanguineum: despite Serv. A. 10.220 (*sanguinei*), our reading should be retained: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.173 *sanguineosque rotat crines* (Housman); Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2.269 *sanguineis ululantia Dindyma Gallis* (Oudendorp); add the meteorological observations of Plin. *Nat.* 2.89 *cometas Graeci uocant, nostri crinitas, horrentes crine sanguineo et comarum modo in uertice hispidas*; and Sil. 1.358 *qualis sanguineo praestringit lumina crine*.

567 ulularunt: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.341 *exululant comites*; sacral nuances are to the fore (cf. *OLD* 2c).

Galli: the ‘self-castrated, self-flagellating wild Phrygian priests’ of the Magna Mater (Beard, North, and Price (1998) 160). They were segregated from the wider community of Roman citizens, and citizens were apparently debarred by law from some aspects of the cult (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.19; Beard, North, and Price (1998) 97). For the *Galli*: Catul. 63; Ov. *Fast.* 4.221–372; Juv. 6.511–21.

568 A golden line (40n.).

compositis: ‘laid to rest’ (*OLD* 4c; *TLL* 3.2115.82–2116.56 for its various funerary contexts).

plenaē...ossibus urnae: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.507–10 *si non... | ... plenae antiquis ossibus urnas | egerere... | libet.*

569–70 The omen is recounted in tricolon sequence of clauses which focus on two aspects before stating the event in its entirety.

569 tum fragor armorum: cf. Verg. *G.* 1.474 *armorum sonitum toto Germania caelo | audiit*; A. 8.524 f.; Petr. 121.113 *iam fragor armorum trepidantes personat aures*; Plin. *Nat.* 2.148, 193; Quint. *Decl.* 315.9.7; V. Fl. 3.218 *armorum fragor*; Zeno 1.34.7.

569–70 magnaeque per auia uoces | auditae: for the omen, cf. Cic. *Har.* 20 *adhibete animos, et mentis uestras, non solum auris, ad haruspicum uocem admouete: Quod in agro Latiniensi auditus est strepitus cum fremitu*; Verg. *G.* 1.476 f. *uox quoque per lucos uulgo exaudita silentis | ingens*; Tib. 2.5.73 f. *ferunt...lucos praecinuisse fugam*; Ov. *Met.* 15.792 f. *cantusque feruntur | auditi sanctis et uerba minantia lucis.*

per auia... | ...nemorum: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 2.79 *ipse etiam gaudens nemorosa per auia sanas | impulerat matres... Cithaeron*; 5.564 *dat sonitum tellus, nemorumque per auia densi | dissultant nexus.* *per auia* is only ever in this *sedes* in hexameter verse. For this kind of phrase, comprising a neuter plural adjective with a genitive which is only formally partitive (a Graecism in Latin as early as Enn. *Ann.* 84 Sk.), cf. Austin (1971) on Verg. *A.* 1.422; Mynors (1990) on Verg. *G.* 2.197.

570 uenientes comminus: ‘charging at close quarters’; as at Flor. 1.22, 1.43.

571 quique colunt: also initiates 3.205.

572–6 Erinys | ... | ... | ... | Eumenis: the second name is a euphemism (‘kindly one’) for the first (derived from abstract notions of wrath; cf. *ἐρινύς*), in use since the late fifth century and perhaps revealing an attempt to disarm some aspects of the popular conception of their role as powers of death. Sommerstein (1989) 9 is succinct:

Erinyes...were avengers of murder, perjury and other grave wrongs, who might exact their vengeance from the wrongdoer himself or from his

descendants. They were champions of the rights of senior kinsfolk and especially of parents. They were guardians of *δίκη* in the broadest sense, in the natural as well as the social universe. They could be thought of as the embodiment of a curse; they could be thought of as the causers of that ruinous mental blindness called *ἄτη*. They were merciless and implacable, and unless specially assisted by a god... man was helpless against them. When they were conceived as having bodily form, it was that of serpents [cf. 574 *stridentisque comas*]; but they could sometimes be associated with the Keres, bloodsucking, bestial death-spirits.

Particularly relevant to the present context would be their association with *ἄτη* and their agency in the civil war between the sons of Oedipus (cf. e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 2.41; Aesch. *Sept.*; cf. Sommerstein (1989) 6–12).

572–4 *ingens urbem cingebat Erinys | excutiens pronam flagranti uertice pinum | stridentisque comas*: cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.490–2 *aditumque obsedit Erinys, | nexaque uipereis distendens brachia nodis | caesariem excussit*. Particularly close is Seneca's Megaera at Sen. *Her. F.* 100–3 *incipite, famulae Ditis, ardentem citae | concutite pinum et agmen horrendum anguibus | Megaera ducat atque luctifica manu | uastam rogo flagrante corripit trabem*; less crucial is Sen. *Her. F.* 982 *Flammifera Erinys uerbere excusso sonat*.

572 *urbem cingebat*: military terminology for a siege (Horsfall (2003) on Verg. *A.* 11.475).

573 *excutiens pronam flagranti uertice pinum*: as noted by Fitch (1987) on Sen. *Her. F.* 101, the action is both threatening and necessary to keep the torch alight; he cites Ov. *Am.* 1.2.11 f.; Plin. *Ep.* 4.9.11; add Sen. *Med.* 112 *excute sollemnem digitis marcentibus ignem*; V. Fl. 2.196 *Ipsa Venus quassans undantem turbine pinum*.

pronom: 546n.

573–4 *excutiens... | stridentisque comas*: adapted at 6.664 f. *uillo-saque colla colubris | Cerberus excutiens*; cf. Verg. *A.* 12.6 f. [*leo*] *gaudetque comantis | excutiens ceruice toros*; Stat. *Theb.* 2.136 [*Aurora*] *rorantes excussa comas*, 7.466 f. *it geminum excutiens anguem et bacchatur utrisque | Tisiphone castris*.

574–7 *Agauen | ...Lycurgi | ... | ...Alcides*: Lucan adapts the multiple Greek models for madness supplied at Verg. *A.* 4.469–73. The

examples here each offer up the massacre of family members by figures under the influence of Erinyes and underscore the aspect of the Erinyes at 572 that is relevant to our context. The theme of the destruction of the family unit has been foreshadowed at 4 and expounded at 376–8 in the speech of Laelius. Here the impulse and the madness motivating it are escalated to a state level (572 *urbem cingebat*) and contextualized by the cluster of mythological precedents.

574 Thebanam...Agauen: mother of Pentheus, daughter of Cadmus. Dionysus contrived to have her dismember her son while in a Bacchic frenzy in vengeance for his refusal to recognize the divinity of Dionysus and his imprisoning of the god; cf. Eur. *Bacch.*; Verg. *A.* 4.469; Ov. *Met.* 3.701–33.

575 Lycurgi: son of Dryas, he was blinded, made to kill his wife and son in a divinely inspired frenzy, and was himself finally killed in vengeance for his physical attack upon Dionysus; cf. Hom. *Il.* 6.130–40; Apollod. 1.35; Hyg. 132; Kirk (1990) on Hom. *Il.* 6.130–40.

contorsit tela: a fairly common epic idiom given some force by its use within a domestic context. It is reused (with variants) at 3.671 and 9.472 (cf. *OLD* *contorqueo* 3b; *TLL* 4.736.74–737.27).

576 Eumenis: the singular is unusual. Verg. *A.* 4.469 *Eumenidum ueluti demens uidet agmina Pentheus* either collapses the distinction between Lyssa and the Erinyes (cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 977–81) or, more likely, alludes to a variant wherein it is the Erinyes who goad the Maenads on Cithaeron to madness; for the second option: Serv. *A.* 4.469 (from Accius); Austin (1955) on Verg. *A.* 4.469 ff.; Dodds (1960) on Eur. *Bacch.* 977–8; cf. also the Pompeian wall painting at Pfuhl (1923) fig. 641.

iussu Iunonis iniquae: cf. Sen. *Her. F.* 40–5, 118–21, 212–15, 614 f., 1297. *iniquus* is in this context basically synonymous with *iratus*, *saeuus*, *crudelis*, *aduersus* (*TLL* 7.1.1640.43–62; Serv. *A.* 5.809 *dis iniquis, hoc est: aduersis*; NH on Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.47; Tarrant (1976) on Sen. *Ag.* 594). For the phrase cf. Verg. *A.* 8.292–4 [*Hercules*] ... *ut duros mille labores | rege sub Eurystheo fatis Iunonis iniquae | pertulerit*; Ov. *Met.* 7.523 f. *dira lues ira populis Iunonis iniquae | incidit*, 9.295 f. *illa quidem uenit...meumque | quae donare caput Iunoni*

uellet iniquae; Ep. 9.45 *arbiter Eurystheus astu Iunonis iniquae*. After Lucan: Stat. *Theb.* 3.184 *regia Cadmi | fulmineum in cinerem monitis Iunonis iniquae | consedit*.

577 **Alcides**: again (544 n.) the obvious manifestation for Lucan's generation will have been Sen. *Her. F.* 939–1053. For the presence of an Erinyes at the actual slaughter of his family, cf. Sen. *Her. F.* 982–6:

Flammifera Erinyes uerbere excusso sonat
rogisque adustas propius ac propius sudes
in ora tendit; saeua Tisiphone, caput
serpentibus uallata, post raptum canem
portam uacantem clausit opposita face.

uiso iam Dite: sc. *quamuis*; Hardie (1890) 13 is astute: 'Hercules has seen Dis in his own realm, yet Megaera is terrible enough to make him shudder'. The detail is given insistent emphasis in Seneca's drama. For the clause cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.7.14–16 *ubi Dite uiso | pallidus fossor redit erutoque | concolor auro?*

Megaeram: as at Sen. *Her. F.* 86–8, 102 (quoted *ad* 572–4), 202–4; Megaera is a favourite with Seneca (Fitch (1987) on Sen. *Her. F.* 102); she appears again at 6.730 with Tisiphone, but Allecto does not feature in *BC*.

578 **insonuere tubae**: cf. Verg. *G.* 1.474 f. *armorum sonitum toto Germania caelo | audiit*; Ov. *Met.* 15.784 *terribilesque tubas auditaque cornua caelo | praemonuisse nefas*; Tib. 2.5.73 f. *atque tubas atque arma ferunt strepitantia caelo | audita et lucos praecinuisse fugam*. Adopted and transposed from a supernatural context at Sil. 12.181 *insonuere tubae passim*; cf. also Stat. *Achil.* 1.875 f.; Plut. *Caes.* 63.2 *σέλα μὲν οὖν οὐράνια καὶ κτύπους νύκτωρ πολλαχοῦ διαφερομένους*.

578–9 **clamore cohortes | miscentur**: adapted at Stat. *Theb.* 10.561 *miscentur clamore uiiae*.

579–80 [**clamorem**] ... | ... | **edidit**: cf. Liv. 26.5.10 *qualis in defectu lunae silenti nocte cieri solet edidit clamorem*.

579 **nox atra**: again at 3.424, 9.839 (187 n.).

silentibus auris: sc. *quamuis*.

580–3 For the omen: Verg. G. 1.477 f. *simulacra modis pallentia miris* | *uisa sub obscurum noctis*; Ov. Met. 15.797 f. *umbrasque silentum* | *errauisse ferunt*; Petr. 122. 137 f. *ecce inter tumulos atque ossa carentia bustis* | *umbrarum facies diro stridore minantur*.

580 **e medio...consurgere Campo**: the location is significant. Sulla was cremated and his ashes were housed in a tomb in the Campus Martius (Cic. Leg. 2.57; App. B Civ. 1.105 f.; Plut. Sulla 38; Granius Licinianus 36.25). In Lucan, cf. esp. 2.222 [*Sulla*] *his meruit tumulum medio sibi tollere Campo*? For the phrase: 2.481 *ut procul inmensam campo consurgere nubem*; for the verb: 692 n.

580–1 **uisci... | ...manes**: cf. Sen. Thy. 671 f. *errat antiquis uetus* | *emissa bustis turba* (Getty); Sil. 6.179 f. *resonare solum, tellusque moueri*, | *atque antrum ruere, et uisci procedere manes*; esp. 8.642 *Gallorum uisci bustis erumpere manes*.

581 A golden line (40 n.).

tristia...cecinerere oracula: cf. Verg. A. 2.114 f. *suspensi Eurypylum scitatum oracula Phoebi* | *mittimus, isque adytis haec tristia dicta reportat*. *cano* in this context is virtually a technical term (cf. OLD 8a).

Sullani...manes: an adjective formed from a noun supplied for a possessive genitive: an idiom native to both Latin (e.g. *flamen Dialis, campus Martius*) and Greek (e.g. Il. 2.25 *Νεστορέη...νηϊ*): see For-dyce (1977) on Verg. A. 7.1 with references.

582–3 The resurrection of Marius. During the proscriptions of 82 BC, Sulla had the remains of Marius' body disinterred and cast into the River Anio: Cic. Leg. 2.56 f. *C. Marii sitas reliquias apud Anienem dissipari iussit Sulla uictor acerbiore odio incitatus, quam si tam sapiens fuisset, quam fuit uehemens. Quod haud scio an timens ne suo corpori posset accidere, primus e patriciis Corneliis igni uoluit cremari*; cf. Val. Max. 9.2.1; Plin. Nat. 7.187.

582 **tollentemque caput**: used again of the resurrection of the dead at 3.10 f. [*Iulia*] *uisa caput maestum per hiantis Iulia terras* | *tollere et accenso furialis stare sepulchro*; also at Petr. 124.259.

gelidas Anienis...undas: the details are also noted at Verg. A. 7.683; Stat. Silv. 4.4.17; Sil. 8.368, 10.363. On the orthography of the name, cf. Gell. 13.23.6. *gelidas undas* is collocated in the same

metrical position at 2.570 and 2.585; Hor. *Ep.* 1.15.4; [Tib.] 3.7.60; Ov. *Tr.* 4.10.3; Man. 2.941; V. Fl. 5.350.

583 *fracto...sepulchro*: cf. Sil. 8.642 (quoted *ad* 580–1).

584–638 THE ATTEMPTED PURIFICATION OF THE CITY

The Etruscan prophet Arruns attempts to purify Rome.

The attempt to ritually purify the city forms a natural progression from the long list of portents supplied at 522–83 and offers further opportunity for foreboding (not least in the clearly articulated failure of the ritual). Structurally, the scene is divisible into five main elements, each roughly equal (9.5, 11.5, 11, 14, 9 lines each), each comprising separable internal divisions, and each leading organically to the next element within the scene. At 584–93, Arruns is introduced as an Etruscan prophet, skilled in a variety of divinatory techniques and his immediate orders to the city are recounted: the *monstra* are to be destroyed; the deformed offspring are to be incinerated; the city is to undergo lustration. This last order leads to the description of the procession of those participating in the *circumambulatio* at 593–604, the bulk of which comprises a mini-catalogue of minor priesthoods at Rome (597–604). While this procession is taking place (605 f. *dumque illi...circumeunt*), Arruns' own attempts at purification are described at 605–15: the burial and consecration of fires scattered by thunderbolts and the sacrifice of a victim. This then leads to a lengthy description of Arruns' haruspicy at 616–29, which treats the prophet's own initial reaction and then, in sequence, the ill-omened appearance of the *uiscera*, the liver (in general), the lungs, heart, guts, and a detailed description of the growths found on the liver. The scene culminates in Arruns' prayer at 630–8, which contains his admission to Jupiter that the rites he has performed have not appeased the god, an apostrophe to the general population in which he declares that the situation is worse than feared and, finally, a public wish that the art of haruspicy had been based upon lies.

584–8 Rambaud (1985) 287 notes the economy with which we are appraised of Arruns' name, *patria*, reputation (*maximus aeuo*), and area of expertise. For the threefold enumeration of Arruns' powers, cf. Vergil's Asilas at A. 10.175–7 *tertius ille hominum diuumque interpret Asilas, | cui pecudum fibrae, caeli cui sidera parent | et linguae uolucrum et praesagi fulminis ignes*; it is a motif with an extensive genealogy: Aesch. *Sept.* 24–6; Soph. *OT* 300–1; Verg. A. 3.359–61; Ov. *Tr.* 1.9.49 f.: see Harrison (1991) ad loc.

584 **haec propter**: not particularly prosaic: its synonym *ob* is used only slightly less commonly in the Augustan period (Axelson (1945) 78–81). Certainly Vergil favours the latter, but only in the *Aeneid* (18x/3x cf. *Ecl.* 0x/1x, *G.* 2x/1x). Lucan has one example of each (cf. 4.578). *propter* following its noun is not uncommon (Bailey (1947) on Lucr. 1.90; Austin (1955) on Verg. A. 4.320).

placuit: *sc. senatui*, but the verb draws attention to the fact that a large part of it is missing: it has already abandoned the city in Lucan's narrative at this point (487–9). On the sequence of events normally culminating in this decision, see Rambaud (1985) 281.

584–5 **Tuscos ... | ... uates**: by definition, haruspices. On the phrase cf. Ov. *Pont.* 4.16.20 f. *quique sua nomen Phyllide Tuscus habet, | ueliuolique maris uates*.

584 **de more uetusto**: not Vergilian (Getty): Cic. *Arat.* 34.29, then Verg. A. 11.142; Ov. *Fast.* 6.309.

585 **maximus aeuo**: a line ending at Verg. A. 11.237 (Latinus) and Ov. *Met.* 7.310. Normally it and its variations are an indication of an inability to take part in battle (as at e.g. Vergil above with Horsfall ad loc.); here *maximus aeuo* is a concise declaration of Arruns' authority, as at Ov. *Met.* 8.617 (Lelex).

586 **Arruns**: a recognizably Etruscan *praenomen* found in both Vergil (*Aen.* 11.759) and often in Livy (11x in 1–5), most famously as the son of Tarquinius Priscus (1.34.2). This latter Arruns was probably decisive for Vergil in his own choice of a distinctively Etruscan name which needed no further context and limited introduction to establish its ethnicity (so Horsfall (2003) on A. 11.759). Accordingly, Lucan's choice underscores Arruns' role as a *Tuscus*

uates but he, nevertheless, also equips his augur with an elaborate introduction. Dick (1963) 38 n. 4 correctly posits little connection between Vergil's and Lucan's Arruns, but both authors are motivated by similar goals in choosing the name.

incoluit...moenia: cf. Liv. 9.4.12; Sen. *Her. O.* 140; Stat. *Theb.* 12.116; Mart. 10.103.9.

desertae: apparently, as with Rome at 486–522, at the onset of Caesar's invasion, despite Lucca's position west of the Apennines: the process which is complete at 24–32 has already begun.

moenia Lucae: epic circumlocution (cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 1.7, 258) for modern Lucca; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 3.50 *primum Etruriae oppidum Luna, portu nobile, colonia Luca a mari recedens propiorque Pisae inter amnes Auserem et Arnun;* Strabo 5.217. Strictly, not part of Etruria in 49 (although it lay on the border) it was incorporated under the administrative reforms of Octavian (Rambaud (1985) 289). The conference at Luca in 56 between Caesar, Crassus, and Pompey probably informed Lucan's choice.

587–8 Arruns' knowledge of his trade is artfully arranged in an ascending tripartite sequence of clauses.

587–8 **fulminis edoctus motus... | ...monitus errantis...pinnae:** Heitland (1895) 193 supported Graevius' transposition of *motus* and *monitus*; cf. Prop. 4.1.105 *si quis motas cornicis senserit alas* (Cortius); but cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5.586 f. *moti tamen aura cucurrit | fulminis et summas libauit uertice cristas.* *monitus* is again in association with augury at Stat. *Theb.* 7.404 *quippe serunt diros monitus uolucresque feraeque.* For Ω *errantis* (ZM *uolitantis* is probably a gloss: Hosius), Housman adduced Pers. 4.26 *quantum non miluus errat.* The emphatic prefix in *edoctus* underscores the degree of Arruns' erudition (TLL 5.1.106.24–81). *pinnae* is a poetic extension the kind of collective terminology usual in augural language (e.g. Var. *L.* 6.82 *auem specere*; Skutsch (1985) on Enn. *Ann.* 87 Sk.).

587–8 **uenasque calentis | fibrarum:** a Senecan collocation: *Thy.* 757 f. *at ille fibras tractat ac fata inspicit | et adhuc calentes uiscerum uenas notat.* *fibrae* are, in a general sense, entrails or viscera (OLD 5a; TLL 6.1.642.75–643.52); here they are closer to a technical term of haruspicy (TLL 6.1.642.24–45; Thulin (1906–9) 2.42–4; Mynors

(1990) on Verg. G. 1.484; Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.176). The *uenae* are the markings produced by the entrails of the sacrificial victims (OLD 2b).

in aere pinnae: the line ending is Ovidian: Ov. *Met.* 4.677, 7.379, 8.253; *Pont.* 2.7.27.

589–90 *monstra... quae... | protulerat natura*: cf. 2.3 *legesque et foedera rerum | praescia monstriifero uertit natura tumultu*. Here *monstra* alludes to the deformity of their appearance (TLL 8.1448.64–75), while retaining its basic force as a religious term signifying a supernatural event conveying a portent or an omen (Fordyce (1977) on Verg. A. 7.21; Hardie (1994) on Verg. A. 9.119–22). It is used of births also at Cic. *Div.* 1.98; Val. Max. 1.6.5; Phaed. 3.3.5; Plin. *Nat.* 7.34. For *profero* in the sense ‘beget’ (TLL 10.2.1683.38–61) cf. esp. Sen. *Oed.* 724 f. *noua monstra semper | protulit tellus*, Ep. 90.40 *quidquid natura protulerat*.

discors | ... *natura*: again at Curt. 9.9.26.

591 *fetus*: not human births (TLL 6.637.5–51) here, despite the language of partition (*protulerat*), the noun is more commonly used of the ominous offspring of beasts (as at TLL 6.637.52–638.54).

infaustis urere flammis: a Vergilian line ending at two places where there are further verbal similarities with the present passage: G. 1.84 f. *saepe etiam sterilis incendere profuit agros | atque leuem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis*; A. 2.37 [Capys and the more prudent Trojans] *praecipitare iubent subiectisque urere flammis*. It reappears after *BC* at Sil. 13.485. For *infaustis* cf. Serv. A. 5.635 *mali ominis* and OLD 2b. The closest collocation to this is Ov. Ep. 6.46 *faces*. The epithet is transferred from *fetus* to *flammis* (cf. e.g. Verg. A. 5.635 *infaustas exurite puppis*). Its position is a cliché determined by the Vergilian precedents, but the transferral is all the more striking for its illogicality, in that the *flamma* are the means by which Arruns is hoping to restore divine benevolence.

592 *pauidis a ciuibus*: cf. 673 *pauidam... plebem*. Lucan clearly prefers this adjective to the synonym *timidus*: TLL 10.2.813.48–62 summarizes the preferences of various poets regarding *pauidus* and *timidus*: Verg. A. 10:1; Ov. 12:23; Luc. 21:2; V. Fl. 18:1; Stat. *Theb.* 3:16; Sil. 10:1.

ciuibus urbem: a line ending at Lucr. 6.590, 1140; Verg. A. 5.631, 8.571; Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.73.

592–3 iubet...urbem | ambiri: i.e. an *amburbium* (Serv. *Ecl.* 3.77 *amburbium dicitur sacrificium, quod urbem circuit et ambit uictima*): see the following note.

593–629 The lustration of the city. The ceremony is divided into two parts. The most important ritual aspect of a lustration was the *circumambulatio* (described at 592–604), in which a procession was led around the area to be purified. Following the procession, victims were sacrificed and their entrails were inspected (described at 605–29). In the republican period, the performance of the ceremony at Rome would normally follow a census, when the people of Rome would be summoned outside the *pomerium* to gather in the Campus Martius. A *suouetaurilia* would be led around them three times and then sacrificed to Mars. Following the sacrifice, prayers would be made by the censors on behalf of the people of Rome that the gods make the Roman state ‘better and greater’; see Liv. 1.44.1. In 142 BC, the formula was altered by the censor in favour of the eternal safety of the city (Val. Max. 4.1.10). In the imperial period, the ceremony was a response to more specific crises: the discovery of a horned owl inside a temple on the Capitol in AD 46 prompted a lustration of the city (Plin. *Nat.* 10.35), so too in AD 55, when the temples of Jupiter and Minerva were struck by lightning (Tac. *Ann.* 13.24), and again in the civil war of AD 69 (Tac. *Hist.* 1.87.1; 4.53) (cf. *RE* 1816.68–1817.42; Scullard (1981) 232 f.; Ogilvie (1961) 31–9; Damon (2003) on Tac. *Hist.* 1.87.1).

593 festo...lusto: i.e. a day was set aside (Getty): *TLL* 6.630.46–54.

moenia lustro: a line ending (with variations) at Ov. *Pont.* 1.2.17; Stat. *Theb.* 10.777, 11.670.

594 pomeria: poetic plural (cf. Juv. 9.11). For the *pomerium*, see Liv. 1.44.2–5 and Beard, North, and Price (1998) 177–81, who at 178 see the point of this lustration (despite its probable invention by Lucan) as purification and strengthening of the *pomerium* against a crossing by a potential second Remus.

cingere: i.e. *circumire* (*TLL* 3.1065.51–3; Luc. 9.373; Sil. 7.590).

595 sacri quibus est permissa potestas: *sacri potestas* is ‘the performance of the rite’. The clause adapts Verg. *A.* 9.97 *cui tanta deo permissa potestas?*; so too V. Fl. 8.424 *tibi* [*sc. Iason*] *non eadem permissa potestas*; Sil. 11.512 *quis rerum ducibus permissa potestas*. On the postponed relative, see Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.531.

596 turba minor: commentators are united in suggesting that this is a crowd from the religious orders ‘inferior’ to the *pontifices* (who will be described at 596–604). This satisfactorily explains the adjective, but the notion of numerical inferiority may also inhere: compared with previous lustrations, Rome would have been able to furnish depleted numbers in attendance after her evacuation at 466–522.

ritu...succincta Gabino: an archaic, ritual arrangement of the toga which left the arms unencumbered; cf. Serv. *A.* 7.612 ‘*Gabinus cinctus*’ *est toga sic in tergum reiecta, ut una eius lacinia a tergo reuocata hominem cingat* (cf. Serv. *A.* 5.755). The Gabine association with the epithet is obscure (*RE* 6.2558.48–2559.43; Ogilvie (1965) on Liv. 5.46.2). Lucan’s expression here is an expansion of the Vergilian (*A.* 7.612) *cinctuque Gabino* (also at line end). *ritu* (*suc-*)*cinctus* is Ovidian: *Met.* 1.695, 9.89, 10.536.

597 Vestalemque chorum ducit uittata sacerdos: the *sacerdotes Vestales*, the single female priesthood in Rome, guarded the sacred hearth of Rome. They were originally two, then four, then six in number. They were chosen by lot from a shortlist of (originally patrician) girls between six and ten years old selected by the *pontifex maximus* (Gell. 1.12.1–7 lists some of the restrictions). Minimum service was for thirty years, but many elements of their hair and dress, including the *stola* and the *uittae*, as well as their release from the *potestas* of their own family, equate membership with marriage. Their primary ritual task was the preparation of *mola salsa* (Serv. *Ecl.* 8.82; 610 n.). Upon discovery of moral impurity, the *uitta* was removed before execution (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.79.5). See Beard (1980); Scullard (1981) 148–50; Porte (1989) 85–8. For *chorum ducere* cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.5, 4.7.6; Tib. 2.1.56; Ov. *Tr.* 5.12.8, but Lucan’s application of the term to a religious sorority (particularly to the non-singing, non-dancing Vestals) is unique.

598 Troianam...Mineruam: cf. Silius’ adaptation at 13.77 f. *ueniamque precatus* | *Troianam ostentat trepidis de puppe Mineruam*. This is the

palladium, identified by the Romans with Minerva (the Greeks associated it with Athena). It was housed in the Temple of Vesta (Plut. *Cam.* 20; Paus. 2.23.5) and only Vestals could look directly upon it (Plut. *Cam.* 20; Claud. *In Eutropium* 1.328 f.). The safety of the city was thought to depend upon it; at Cic. *Scaur.* 23 it is styled *quasi pignus nostrae salutis atque imperi*. See Frazer (1929) on Ov. *Fast.* 6.421; Austin (1964) on Verg. *A.* 2.163.

cui fas uidisse: cf. 9.993 f. *nullique aspecta uirorum | Pallas; Ov. Ep.* 16.61–3 *constitit ante oculos actus uelocibus alis | Atlantis magni Pleionesque nepos | (fas uidisse fuit, fas sit mihi uisa referre)*; after Lucan: Stat. *Theb.* 2.739 f. *peruigilemque focis ignem longaeua sacerdos | nutriet, arcanum numquam spretura pudorem*. *fas* is what is permissible by divine law (TLL 6.289.25–35; Austin (1977) on Verg. *A.* 6.266 with references). It was generally *nefas* to look a divinity in the face (Kenney (1996) on Ov. *Ep.* 16.63 cites Liv. 1.16; Ov. *Fast.* 6.7 f.; Sen. *Ep.* 115.4 and this line; add Stat. *Theb.* 2.40).

599 **tum:** *sc. sequuntur quindecimui* (Hudson-Williams (1984) 454).

qui fata deum secretaque carmina seruant: i.e. the *quindecimui* *sacris faciundis* (564 n.).

fata deum: Vergilian: *A.* 2.54, 3.375, 6.375, 7.239, 7.584. These are the ‘utterances’ of the gods: ‘the idea of utterance merges into that of destiny’ (Austin (1977) on Verg. *A.* 6.45). After Lucan: V. Fl. 4.86, Stat. *Theb.* 10.592; *Silv.* 3.1.11.

secretaque carmina: the Sibylline books (564 n.); cf. Man. 5.334; again at Mart. 1.66.5; Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.55.

carmina seruant: a line ending again at Stat. *Silv.* 5.5.48.

600 **lotam paruo reuocant Almone Cybeben:** *lotam Cybeben = lauationem Cybebes*; *paruo Almone* is local ablative with *lotam*. *reuocant* is ‘renew, repeat a custom’ (OLD 12). The rite is based upon an event from when the goddess’s image was transported from Asia Minor to Italy. The ship on which the image was carried had been caught in the silt of the river Tiber, but was released after prayers were made to the goddess. Her image was then washed by a priest at the point where the Almo meets the Tiber. The washing became one element within a festival of Cybele, celebrated 22–27 March (Frazer (1929) on Ov. *Fast.* 4.337). For the origin of the rite: Ov. *Fast.* 4.336–40 *est locus, in*

Tiberim qua lubricus influit Almo | et nomen magno perdit in amne minor. | illic purpurea canus cum ueste sacerdos | Almonis dominam sacraque lauit aquis; it is mentioned after Lucan at V. Fl. 8.239–42; Sil. 8.362 f.; Mart. 3.47. See Hudson-Williams (1984) 454. On the brevity of the Almo: Ov. *Met.* 14.329 *cursuque breuissimus Almo*.

601 doctus seruare: *seruo* is virtually a technical term in this context, usually found in the idiom *de caelo seruare* (OLD 2b; cf. Enn. *Ann.* 74f. Sk. *in monte Remus auspicio sedet atque secundam | solus auem seruat*). For *doctus* + inf.: TLL 5.1.1760.37–1761.3; cf. also 326 n. and Stat. *Theb.* 1.705 f., 7.707 f.

uolucres...sinistras: birds on the left generally constituted a favourable omen: Var. *L.* 7.97; cf. e.g. Verg. *Ecl.* 9.15 *ante sinistra caua monuisset ab ilice cornix*, where the species of bird is also relevant to the omen (Coleman (1977) on Verg. *Ecl.* 9.15). For the prosody of *uolucres*: 259 n.

augur: singular for plural. *augures* were members of the major *collegia* of priests and ranked second only to *pontifices*. They were traditionally founded by Numa. In 509 BC, their number was three; it increased to nine by 300 BC (at which point plebeian members were admitted for the first time), to fifteen under Sulla, and to sixteen under Caesar. After 103 BC, augurs were elected for life. Their primary role was to gauge divine approval or displeasure for military or political actions by the taking of auspices and auguries. They, traditionally and etymologically (*auis* + *spicio*; *auis* + *ger-*), derived their name from the observation of the flight of birds (Linderski (1986) 2146–312).

602 septemuirque epulis festus: *epulis festus pro epulone ponitur* (Housman); for *festus* applied to persons: Tarrant (1976) on Sen. *Ag.* 644 f. (more usually they are applied to the paraphernalia of the feast days than to the priests themselves: TLL 6.630.61–631.9). The *septemuii epulones* were a college of priests established in 196 BC (Liv. 33.42) whose primary function was the organization of the *epulum Iouis*, a feast in honour of Jupiter (and possibly extended to the Capitoline deities) held during various *ludi* and attended by the senate and people. One occurred on 13 September after the *Ludi Romani*, another on 13 November during the *Ludi Plebeii*. The original number of *epulones* was three, they increased to seven

perhaps under Sulla, and further to ten under Julius Caesar, although the title *septemviri* abided (Wissowa (1912) 518; Latte (1960) 398 f.; Porte (1989) 127–30; Scullard (1981) 186 f.).

Titiique sodales: priests of pre-republican origin whose functions remain obscure to us and, perhaps, also to Romans of Lucan's day. The name suggests institution by Tatius (so Tac. *Hist.* 2.95; *Ann.* 1.54), though an alternative association with augury or with phallic rites is also possible; Augustus was a member (*Anc.* 7; Miller (1959) on Tac. *Ann.* 1.54).

603 Salius laeto portans ancilia collo: the *Salii* were an ancient *sodalitas* associated with Mars. They were reportedly founded by Numa (Liv. 1.20) but were spread throughout Italy and pre-date the unification of the city. Among other distinguishing items of dress, on their left arm they each bore an *ancile*, a sacred shield in a figure of eight, that was replicated from an original that fell from heaven as a gift from Jupiter to Numa during a period of plague (Liv. 1.20.3). During March and October, when the *ancilia* were moved from the *sacraria Martis* on the *Regia*, the *Salii* processed throughout the city, stopping at various locations to perform ritual songs, such as the *carmen saliare* and dances (cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3.259–392; Bloch (1960) 134–41; Ogilvie (1965) on Liv. 1.20.3; Scullard (1981) 85 f.; Porte (1989) 102–7; Littlewood (2002) 175–97). For *laetus* transferred from the person to a part of the body see *TLL* 7.2.886.70–82 with examples; the closest to Lucan here is V. Fl. 1.109 *tela puer facilesque umeris gaudentibus arcus | gestat Hylas*.

604 tollens apicem generoso uertice flamen: *flamines* were priests devoted to the worship of an individual deity. There were fifteen in all, with the senior three—the *flamen Dialis*, *Martialis*, and *Quirinalis*—selected by the pontifical college from among patrician families (hence *generoso uertice*). The most conspicuous aspect of their dress, the *apex*, was a conical or round cap crowned by a shaft of olive wood surrounded at its base by strands of wool (cf. Verg. *A.* 8.664 *lanigerosque apices*). A depiction of two *flamines* wearing round *apices* is preserved on the south frieze of the *Ara Pacis* (Wissowa (1912) 501–23; Ogilvie (1965) on Liv. 1.20; Scullard (1981) 28 f.; Vanggaard (1988); Beard, North, and Price (1998) 1, 15, 19, 28 f.).

605–6 *dumque illi effusam longis anfractibus urbem | circumeunt*: the temporal clause caps and restates the catalogue of priestly colleges (bookending the catalogue with 592–5) and serves as a transition back into the narrative concerning Arruns. Note here the accumulation of words pointing to the effort required to carry out Arruns' injunctions. *effusam* is 'spread out, extended' (OLD 15b; TLL 5.1.219.18–27); cf. Sen. *Con.* 1.6.4 where it is also used of Rome. For the collocation *longis anfractibus*, cf. Cic. *Part.* 21; Nep. *Eum.* 8.5, 96; V. Fl. 5.120. An *anfractus* is 'a circuitous route' (OLD 3c; TLL 2.43.1–16). *circumeunt* is a technical term of lustration (Austin (1977) on Verg. *A.* 6.229).

606–7 *Arruns dispersos fulminis ignes | colligit et...condit*: word order (607) and verb prefixes underscore Arruns' own effort in bringing together (*col ligit et...con dit*; TLL 4.148.7–20) what was scattered (*dis persos*). For *ignes colligit*, cf. Verg. *G.* 1.427 *luna reuertentis cum primum colligit ignis*; Sen. *Nat.* 2.12.3 f.; V. Fl. 2.354; Juv. 13.146. *dispersos...ignes* is collocated at Lucr. 5.664; Sil. 4.678; V. Fl. 6.54. *fulminis ignes* is a line ending at Lucr. 2.384; Verg. *A.* 10.177; Stat. *Theb.* 8.76.

607 *terrae...condit*: i.e. *in terram*: cf. *Mor.* 122. For further examples of *condo* + dat.: TLL 4.149.57–62.

maesto cum murmure: i.e. Arruns prays as he buries the embers; the purpose of these incantations is stated at the beginning of the next line: 608 *datque locis numen*. The phrase *maesto cum murmure* is a variation on common epic diction: Verg. *A.* 1.55 *magno*, 1.245 *uasto*; Ov. *Met.* 7.186 *nullo*, 13.567 *rauco*; *Fast.* 4.267 *longo*; *Ilias* 1055 *magno*; V. Fl. 1.626; Stat. *Theb.* 3.428 *denso*; Sil. 1.469, 12.603 *uasto*.

608–13 The *immolatio*.

608 *sacris...admouet aris*: *admoueo* + dat. is the technical term for bringing a victim to the altar (OLD 2; TLL 1.773.79–774.7), as at 7.165 *admotus...fugit ab ara | taurus*; cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 12.171 *admouitque pecus flagrantibus aris*; Ov. *Met.* 13.453 f. *postquam crudelibus aris | admota est*; and esp. Sen. *Oed.* 334 f. *huc propere admoue | et sparge salsa colla taurorum mola*. Germanicus had deployed the same line ending at *Arat.* 420 *cultor Iouis admouet Arae*.

609 electa ceruice marem: supply *bouem* since this is a sacrifice to Juppiter (632 f.): *CIL* 6.32.323 *bouem marem Ioui maximo optimo proprium immolauit* (cf. *TLL* 8.424.18–29). The phrase is adapted in the same position at *Stat. Theb.* 1.507 *electa ceruice greges*.

fundere Bacchum: cf. *Verg. A.* 5.77 f. *hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho | fundit humi*; *Sen. Oed.* 566. The figure of substituting the god's name for the sphere of activity it is associated with is as old as Homer (*Il.* 2.246) and is especially common in Latin poetry (NH on *Hor. Carm.* 1.7.22; Mankin (1995) on *Hor. Epod.* 9.38 with examples). For the poeticism *Bacchum* = *uinum*: *TLL* 2.1665.78–1666.38.

610 molas inducere: *mola salsa* was the salted meal the Vestals made with sacred water and the first ears of corn from each harvest; it was used to sanctify the victim by being scattered over it, and gave its name to the *immolatio* itself (*TLL* 8.1335.53–66; Latte (1960) 108–10; Beard, North, and Price (1998) 51 f.).

obliquo...cultro: in this context, the sacrificial knife (*TLL* 4.1316.45–68) cf. *Serv. A.* 12.173 *obliquum etiam cultrum a fronte usque ad caudam ante inmolationem ducere consueuerant*.

611–13: Any unwillingness on the part of the victim was extremely inauspicious (*Serv. A.* 2.104; *Suet. Jul.* 59; Beard, North, and Price (1998) 52): note the emphasis laid on this reluctance (611 *in patiensque diu non grati uictima sacri*).

611 inpatiensque diu: cf. *Stat. Theb.* 590 f. (Charon) *nec ipse diu fortis patiensque superni | aeris*.

non grati...sacri: cf. *Silius'* hind, sacrificed to Diana at 13.136 *tibi enim haec gratissima sacra*. The periphrasis *non gratus* for *ingratus* occurs at *Mor.* 54; after *Lucan: [Sen.] Oct.* 105; *Sil.* 2.115, 17.580.

uictima sacri: a line ending again at 7.167.

612–13 note the rhyming noun-adjective pairs at the main caesura and line end in consecutive lines.

612 cornua succincti premerent cum torua ministri: *cum* here is 'only because' and sets up the conditions for the following line (cf. Mayer (1981) on *Luc.* 8.51–2 with references). For *succincti...ministri*, cf. *Prop.* 4.3.62 *succinctique calent ad noua lucra popae*; *Ov. Met.* 9.89 f. *nymphae ritu succincta Dianae, | una ministrarum*; *Fast.* 1.319, 4.413 *a*

boue succincti cultros remouete ministri; Suet. *Cal.* 32. *cornua... torua* is collocated at *Eleg. Maec.* 1.116; *Nero poet.* 3.1; *Petr.* 126.18.5.

613 A golden line caps the scene of sacrifice (40 n.).

uictum praebebat...collum: cf. *Ov. Fast.* 4.403 *illa iugo tauros collum praebeere coegit*; *Sen. Her. F.* *nondum litasti, nate: consumma sacrum. | stat ecce ad aras hostia, expectat manum | ceruice prona; praebeo, occurro, insequor*; *Sil.* 15.246 f. *tum prostratus humi, miserandum, uicta catenis | Poenus colla dedit*; *Juv.* 10.270 *miserabile collum | praebet ab ingrato iam fastiditus aratro*. For *praebeo* of offering parts of one's own body: *TLL* 10.2.387.14–46.

614 **cruror emicuit:** cf. *Lucr.* 2.194 f. *quod genus e nostro cum missus corpore sanguis | emicat exultans alte spargitque cruorem*; *Ov. Met.* 4.121 *cruror emicat alte*; *Sen. Oed.* 345 f. *utrum citatus uulnere angusto micat | an lentus altas irrigat plagas cruror?*

cruror...solitus: i.e. *sanguis rutilus* (615).

uulnere laxo: cf. *Ov. Hal.* 45 f. *dum uulnere saeuus | laxato cadat hamus*.

615 **rutilo...pro sanguine:** adapted at 9.809 f. *sic omnia membra | emisere simul rutilum pro sanguine uirus*.

616 **palluit attonitus sacris feralibus Arruns:** cf. Tiphys at *Sen. Med.* 346. The significance and seriousness of Arruns' reaction (in which his blanching matches the colour of the victim's *uiscera*: 618 *pallida*) has been prepared for the reader by his comparatively lengthy introduction at 585–8, in which his wide learning and experience were foregrounded. For *sacris feralibus*, cf. 6.432 *tristis sacris feralibus aras*; *Stat. Theb.* 6.150 f. *en quam feralis putemus | abiurasse sacrum, feralis* is 'presaging death' (*OLD* 3a; *TLL* 6.1.486.64–84): cf. e.g. *Verg. A.* 4.462; *Ov. Met.* 9.123; *Sen. Her. F.* 762.

617–29 The extispicy. At most public sacrifices an investigation of the victim's entrails followed its felling and preceded its butchering, cooking, and consumption. Under normal circumstances, the procedure (*probatio*) was undertaken to gauge the god's approval (*litatio*) or disapproval (*non perlitatum est*) of the sacrifice. If the *exta* were ill-omened, the sacrifice would begin again (as at e.g. *Liv.* 41.15.1–5). Here the extispicy is intended to explain the inauspicious

behaviour and appearance of the victim during the *immolatio* and sacrifice (611–16, 617). During extispicy, the *haruspex* drew conclusions regarding the future from the physical appearance of the organs of the victim, primarily the liver, which was perceived as analogous to the divine sphere (as illustrated on the bronze model from Pia-cenza). The liver as a whole could portend great good luck, for example, by revealing a strong membrane (Sen. *Oed.* 361 f.) or by appearing in duplicate (Plin. *Nat.* 11.190; Plin. *Ep.* 2.20.13; Suet. *Aug.* 95; Cass. Dio 45.35). Conversely, atrophy was a bad omen (Sen. *Oed.* 358). The organ itself comprised three main components, the *caput iocineris*, the *pars familiaris* and the *pars hostilis* (cf. Liv. 8.9.1). The *caput*, a three-sided pyramid-shaped protuberance on the left globe, was the main subject for investigation (Cic. *Div.* 2.32): enlarged or in duplicate, it presaged good fortune (Liv. 27.26.14; Plin. *Nat.* 11.189; Val. Max. 1.6.9). Its absence was a bad omen (Cic. *Div.* 2.32). If it was cleft or fissured it could portend radical change (Liv. 8.9.1; Ov. *Met.* 15.794). The appearance of two heads was indicative of civil conflict (Sen. *Oed.* 359 f.). The two *partes* reflected the interest of the observer: a healthy showing from the *pars hostilis*, for example, portended a strong enemy (Sen. *Oed.* 363 f.). Other relevant organs were the peritoneum, gall bladder, heart, and lung. Fissures in the organs were also significant (Thulin (1905–9); *RE* 7.2.2431.36–2468.48; Wissowa (1912) 543–9; Dumézil (1974) 595–9, 635–47; Van der Meer (1987); Beard, North, and Price (1998) 35 f.).

Extispicy is frequently recounted in Latin literature, but the major source for our passage is the expiation performed by Tiresias at Sen. *Oed.* 353–70 (see Narducci (1979) 149–52 esp. 151 f.). It is an allusion that accords well with the themes of domestic war and the subversion of normal family relations throughout the opening of *BC*:

non leui motu, ut solent,
agitata trepidant exta, sed totas manus
quatiunt nouusque prosilit uenis cruor.
cor marcet aegrum penitus ac mersum latet
liuentque uenae; magna pars fibris abest
et felle nigro tabidum spumat iecur,
ac (semper omen unico imperio graue)

en capita paribus bina consurgunt toris;
 sed utrumque caesum tenuis abscondit caput
 membrana latebram rebus occultis negans.
 hostile ualido robore insurgit latus
 septemque uenas tendit; has omnis retro
 prohibens reuerti limes oblicus secat.
 mutatus ordo est, sede nil propria iacet,
 sed acta retro cuncta: non animae capax
 in parte dextra pulmo sanguineus iacet,
 non laeua cordi regio, non molli ambitu
 omenta pingues uisceri obtendunt sinus.

617 iram superum: the theme will initiate the next book: 2.1 *iamque irae patuere deum*. For the collocation (again at 2.86), cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.836; *Silv.* 3.3.184; *Sil.* 9.425; *Apul. Met.* 4.32.

raptis...in extis: cf. *Ov. Met.* 15.136f. *ereptas uiuenti pectore fibras | inspicunt mentesque deum scrutantur in illis*; *Sen. Thy.* 755 *erepta uiuis exta pectoribus tremunt*; *Oed.* 391 *fibra uiuis rapta pectoribus*; V. Fl. 1.254 adapts the phrase to a culinary context; *Suet. Aug.* 1.1.6.

618 terruit ipse color uatem: again (cf. 616 *palluit*), the verb of Arruns' reaction is emphatically placed.

618–20 nam pallida taetris | uiscera tincta notis gelidoque infecta cruore | plurimus asperso uariabat sanguine liuor: the reader's first glimpse into the entrails, and we are not allowed to miss the physical symptoms prompting Arruns' concern: copious details regarding the putrefaction of the entrails are packed into this dense, extensive, and elaborate explanation (*nam*) of the subject of the preceding clause, *ipse color. taetris* is 'foul' (*OLD* 1); it was in poetic usage since *Enn. Ann.* 225 *Sk* and is found only here in *BC* (cf. also *Plin. Nat.* 27.80 *ulceribus taetris*). *gelidus* is often used of the bodily fluid of the just dead and dying (*TLL* 6.2.1729.42–7), but the point here is rather that there does not appear to be fresh, healthy (i.e. warm) blood in the victim's entrails.

619 infecta cruore: a line ending at *Carm. Bell. Aeg.* col. 2.2; *Ilias* 785; V. Fl. 7.552; *Sil.* 13.589.

620 A golden line (40 n.).

asperso... sanguine: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 2.717 *asperso crudescit sanguine Gorgon*.

liuor: a blueish discoloration (*OLD* 1; *TLL* 7.2.1547.65–1548.24).

621 **tabe iecur madidum:** an obviously bad omen: cf. Liv. 41.15.3 *iecur omne inenarrabili tabe absumptum*; Sen. *Oed.* 358 *tabidum spumat iecur*. The adjective indicates a structural disintegration of the liver by being so steeped in the gore (*TLL* 8.37.49–58). For the collocation *tabe... madidum*, cf. the variation at 2.125 *saeua tribunicio maduerunt robora tabo*; Ov. *Pont.* 3.1.26 *tinctaque mortifera tabe sagitta madet*; Stat. *Theb.* 1.82 *madidum tabo diadema*, 11.876 f. *atroque madentem | ora ducem tabo*.

621–2 **uenasque minaces | hostili de parte uidet:** cf. Sen. *Oed.* 363 f. *hostile ualido robore insurgit latus | septemque uenas tendit*. The adjective *minax* is virtually a technical term in divinatory contexts (as it also appears at 658; cf. *TLL* 8.997.31–9); cf. Verg. *G.* 1.484 *tristibus... extis fibrae apparere minaces*; Ov. *Met.* 15.572 f. [of prodigies] *seu laetum est... | sive minax*.

622–3 **pulmonis anhelis | fibra latet:** for the omen, cf. Cic. *Div.* 1.81 *quid enim habet haruspex, cur pulmo incisus etiam in bonis extis dirimat tempus et proferat diem?*; Sen. *Oed.* 367 f. *non animae capax | in parte dextra pulmo sanguineus iacet*. The adjective *anhelus* is restricted to poetry (Austin (1977) on Verg. *A.* 6.48); for its application to parts of the body, cf. Verg. *A.* 6.48 *pectus*, Sen. *Ag.* 713 *cor* and *TLL* 2.68.14–28. *pulmonis... | fibra* is collocated again at Luc. 6.630; cf. Sen. *Her. O.* 1221.

622–4 **pulmonis... | fibra latet... | cor iacet:** Lucan has transposed the noun and verb collocations from his model: Sen. *Oed.* 356 *cor... latet*, 368 *pulmo... iacet* (*contra* Shackleton Bailey (1987) 75).

623 **paruusque secat uitalia limes:** cf. Sen. *Oed.* 364 f. *has omnis retro | prohibens reuerti limes oblicus secat* (Shackleton Bailey (1987) 75); for *limes* in this sense: *TLL* 7.2.1414.49–70.

624 **cor iacet:** cf. Cic. *Div.* 1.119 [Caesar] *cum immolaret... in extis bouis opimi cor non fuit*; Obsequens 67; Suet. *Jul.* 77; Sen. *Oed.* 356 *cor*

marcet aegrum penitus ac mersum latet. But *iacet* does not mean that the heart is hidden (Getty). It refers obliquely to the disease made explicit in the Senecan extispicy ('ein krankes Herz', *RE* 7.2.2454.14).

624–5 *saniem per hiantis uiscera rimas | emittunt*: cf. Sen. *Oed.* 140 f. *nec cruor, ferrum maculauit atra | turpis e plaga sanies profusa*. *sanies*, a weakened form of *sanguis*, denotes fluid thinner than blood emitting from ulcers or (as here) wounds (*OLD*; Celsus 5.26.20): Hunink (1992) on Luc. 3.658.

625 *produntque suas omenta latebras*: cf. Sen. *Oed.* 369 f. *non molli ambitu | omenta pingues uisceri obtendunt sinus*. The *omentum* (the plural is poetic) is not a place from which omens are taken (nor etymologically derived from *omen*), but merely anatomical detail. This is the epiploon, the fatty membrane enclosing the intestines which is revealed when the *uiscera* are exposed (Still (1890) 156–8; *TLL* 9.2.46–55; *OLD*). For *latebras* used of the body: *TLL* 7.2.992.82–993.17; cf. Sen. *Oed.* 362.

626 *quodque nefas nullis inpune apparuit extis*: the line builds up tension in anticipation of the main focus of the extispicy, the deformed liver and its overt symbolism of the civil war (627–9), both by delaying the explanation of what *quodque* (signposted in the following line by the exclamatory *ecce*) is and by its compounded negatives (*ne fas nullis in pune*). *inpune* is used in the passive sense, 'without ill consequence' (*TLL* 7.1.720.6–721.10); *apparuit* is a gnomic perfect.

627–8 *uidet capiti fibrarum increscere molem | alterius capitis*: 'on the head of the liver he sees the mass of a second head growing'. *capiti fibrarum* is not the *pars familiaris* (Getty: Lejay was correct; cf. *RE* 7.2.2451.62–6), but the *caput iocineris: fibrae* is 'liver' (as at e.g. Serv. G. 1.120). Getty's notion that 628 f. *pars... | ...pars* refer to the *familiaris* and *hostilis* respectively confuses the passage on a number of counts. First, the *pars hostilis* does not grow out of the *pars familiaris*. Second, the appearance of the *pars hostilis* is not a remarkable portent (626 f. *quodque... nullis inpune apparuit extis | ecce, uidet*), but a permanent, ordinary component in a healthy liver. Third, his interpretation has the *pars familiaris* as the dominant feature in 627 and yet *aegra et marcida* in the next line, while the

pars hostilis is already mentioned at 621 f. only to be mentioned in almost identical details only seven lines later at 629: this is a separate manifestation in the liver. Moreover, *increscere* is not ‘growing upon’ but used absolutely: ‘grows’ (the parallel adduced by Getty, *Sen. Her. O.* 1070 *increuit Tityi iecur*, does not support his explanation). The nature of the omen—implicit in the physical appearance of the *caput*—is explicit at *Sen. Oed.* 359 f. *ac (semper omen unico imperio graue) | en capita paribus bina consurgunt toris*.

628 alterius capitis: the full horror of the abnormality is held over in enjambment.

628–9 pars... | **pars:** transparent representatives of Pompey and Caesar respectively (cf. their programmatic descriptions at 129–57; *Comm. Bern.*). The strong *caput* dominates even the description, with its full line and two verbs contrasting the half line and adjectives attributed to the weak *caput*.

628 pars aegra et marcida pendet: adapts vocabulary and sound from *Sen. Oed.* 356 *cor marcet aegrum penitus ac mersum latet*. Before Lucan, Seneca had applied the adjectival form *marcidus* to the whole animal (*Ep.* 92.10); for its application to parts of the body: *TLL* 8.376.14–26. The verb *pendet* is used in the sense of something that has too little strength or firmness to hold its shape or be upright (*TLL* 10.1.1036.54–65).

629 micat: a conspicuous verb in Caesar’s introductory simile: 153 *emicuit*.

celeri...pulsu: a characteristic adjective of Lucan’s Caesar: 151–7 n.

improba: ‘relentless’ (*OLD* 4a): 334 n.

630 his: *sc. ominibus*.

concepit: *TLL* 4.60.16–40 suggests the meaning here is *cogitare, putare, cogitatione fingere*, but surely the relevant nuance is *intellegere, cognoscere* (i.e. *TLL* 4.59.28–54), as at 2.16.

magnorum fata malorum: cf. *Plin. Nat.* 28.14 *magnarum rerum fata et ostenta* (Housman); the jingle is repeated at 4.93.

631 exclamat: Laelius’ is the only other speech in *BC* introduced by this verb.

631–3 *uix fas, superi, quaecumque mouetis, | prodere me populis; nec enim tibi, summe, litauī, | Iuppiter, hoc sacrum*: the disjointed word order (esp. 632 f.) reflects the agitation of Arruns at what he has witnessed in the entrails.

quaecumque mouetis: Lucan's own usage supports Ω *mouetis* over V *monetis* (Getty): 417–19 *at mihi semper | tu, quaecumque moues tam crebros causa meatus, | ut superi uoluere, late*. Likewise, Lucan is playing with a common idiom: the object of the verb lurking under *quaecumque* is *bellum, proelia, discordiam (uel sim.)* (TLL 8.1545.74–84). For the phrase and context, cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.571 ‘*quicquid*,’ ait ‘*superi, monstro portenditur isto...*’.

631–2 *uix fas ... | prodere me populis*: cf. Petr. 119. 19 *heu, pudet effari perituraque prodere fata*; Buc. *Eins.* 1.26 *fas mihi sit uidisse deos, fas prodere mundo*.

632 **nec enim**: *enim* here is an asseverative particle (‘indeed’). This is its original and archaic sense (=δῆ), common in Plautus and revived by Vergil at e.g. G. 2.509, 3.70, A. 8.84, 10.874 (Austin (1977) on Verg. A. 6.28; Fordyce (1977) on Verg. A. 8.84).

632–3 *tibi...litauī | ...hoc sacrum*: *litare*, a technical religious term (Serv. A. 2.119), is ‘to offer an acceptable sacrifice to’, i.e. to succeed in obtaining divine consent (OLD 3a; TLL 7.1.1512.55–69): cf. Pl. *Poen.* 452–5 *nam ego hodie infelix dis meis iratissimis | sex immolaui agnos, nec potui tamen | propitiam Venerem facere uti esset mihi. | quoniam litare nequeo, abii*. In poetry the verb is often transitive with an internal object (as here): Prop. 4.1a.24; Verg. A. 4.50 *sacrisque litatis*; Ov. *Fast.* 4.630; *Met.* 14.156 *sacrisque ex more litatis*. The present line is the model for Stat. *Theb.* 10.338 [*Phoebe*] *tibi enim haec ego sacra litauī*.

summe ... | Iuppiter: a natural and long-standing mode of address in prayer (Enn. *Trag.* 176, 234; Pl. *Am.* 780, 933; Ov. *Met.* 13.599; Sen. *Med.* 531) that sets up the antithesis at 634 *inferni uenere dei*.

caesique in pectora tauri: the force of the enclitic particle in *caesique* is *sed*; Lucan's use of positive conjunctions where sense dictates a disjunction and some interpretive implications of this use are discussed at Bartsch (1997) 124–8. *pectora* is commonly in the poetic plural for metrical convenience. On poetic plurals of parts of

the body: Löfstedt (1942) 1.30 f.; on poetic plurals more generally: Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 116–17 with references. Ovid had deployed an identical metrical sequence using similar vocabulary at *Met.* 15.695 *Aeneadae gaudent caesoque in litore tauro*.

634 inferni...dei: incompatible with extispicy, but indicative of Latin literature's growing interest in underworld deities in the period following Vergil's *Allecto*. Elsewhere in *BC* they are 3.29 *reges silentum*, 6.513 *dei Erebi*, 6.651 *Tartarei reges*, 6.685 f. *Lethaei | dei*, 7.169 *Stygii numina regni*. The form of the adjective is a substitute for the metrically less tractable *inferus* (Austin (1977) on Verg. A. 6.106). The collocation is adapted at Stat. *Theb.* 11.209 *inferno praeuertit uota Tonanti* and reused at Juv. 8.217.

non fanda timemus: reasserts the opening theme of Arruns' speech and establishes a relative point of comparison (that which is *nefas*) for the gravity of events to come (which are *maiora metu*). The periphrasis *non fanda* for *nefanda* is repeated at 2.176.

635 uenient maiora metu: cf. 673 f. Here, *maiora* looks back to *non fanda*, *metu* (abl. of comparison) to *timemus*. The notion in this compressed style of formula is repeatedly expressed or adumbrated in Senecan drama: *Phaed.* 1032 f. *malum | maius timore*; *Tro.* 610 *auspicia metuunt qui nihil maius timent*; cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 3.522 f. (*Amphiaraus*) *sed similes non ante metus aut astra notauit | prodigiosa magis; quamquam maiora parantur*.

635–7 Arruns' brief speech ends on a pathetic note. His three final jussive subjunctives cannot possibly outweigh the force of the facts he has uttered—no matter how obscurely—throughout 631–5. His final preference for the groundlessness of his own practices as an *haruspex* and of the entire *Etrusca disciplina* over the accuracy of what has been disclosed to him strikes a foreboding note in itself and initiates the sequence of three final paradoxes that will conclude the direct speeches of book one (cf. 670–2; 693 f.).

635 di uisa secudent: 'bring to favourable issue' (Fordyce (1977) on Verg. A. 7.259; cf. *OLD* *secundo* 2); cf. Verg. G. 4.397 *euentusque secundet*; A. 3.36 *rite secundarent uisus omenque leuant*. But Arruns knows his prayer is futile (632 *nec...litaui | ...hoc sacrum*; 633 f. *caesique in pectora tauri | inferni uenere dei*) and the allusion to

Latinus' joyful and optimistic outburst at Verg. A. 7.259 *laetus ait: 'di nostra incepta secudent | auguriumque suum!'* only adds further pathos. The effect as well as the line ending is imported and adapted to Anna's dream at Sil. 8.124 *abigo menti et sub lucem ut uisa secudent | oro caelicolas*.

636 et fibris sit nulla fides: *fides* in divinatory contexts is often 'authoritativeness, certainty' (OLD 4b; TLL 6.684.73–685.11); cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2.3 *certissima fides haedorum fibris*. Shackleton Bailey (1982) 91 emends *Ωet* to *aut* 'if the *haruspicina* is a fraud and the evil signs mean nothing, they cannot be turned to good'. But there is no need for disjunction after *secudent*: Arruns is not wishing *either* for a favourable issue *or* that there be no authority in the entrails. The second clause is prerequisite for the first: he knows that he has read the entrails correctly according to the precepts of his art.

conditor artis: i.e. the *auctor* or *parens* (TLL 4.146.38–58); cf. the pun at Ov. *Pont.* 2.11.2 *Naso, parum faustae conditor Artis*; so too, at line ending, Sil. 14.216 [*Phalaris*] *dirae conditor artis*.

637 Tages: the mythical 'wise child' (Cic. *Div.* 2.50 *puerili specie dicitur uisus, sed senili fuisse prudentia*) who sprang from the earth near Tarquinii (hence his name, according to *Comm. Bern. est appellatus ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς*) to reveal the *Etrusca disciplina*, later encoded in the *libri Tagetici* (Cic. *Div.* 2.50; cf. also Ov. *Met.* 15.558 f.).

637–8 flexa... | ...multaque... ambage: the noun is understood with both adjectives (Housman). For the phrase, cf. Verg. A. 6.99 [*Sibylla*] *horrendas canit ambages*; Sen. *Oed.* 214 f. *ambage flexa Delphico mos est deo | arcana tegere*; Stat. *Theb.* 4.644 f. [*Laius*] *haec ubi fatus | labitur et flexa dubios ambage relinquit* (cf. also Austin (1977) on Verg. A. 6.99).

639–72 THE ASTROLOGY OF P. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS

The astrologer Figulus predicts a prolonged civil war, and the coming of a master at its termination.

P. Nigidius Figulus

Few details survive regarding the life of Figulus. He was a friend and contemporary of Cicero, whom he helped against the Catilinarian conspirators in 63 (Cic. *Sull.* 41 f.; *Fam.* 4.13.2), and he was praetor in 58 (Cic. *Q. Frat.* 1.2.16). In the civil war he supported Pompey (Cic. *Att.* 7.24) on account of which he suffered exile, by 46 (*Fam.* 4.13). Cicero seems to have prepared an *oratio ad clementiam Caesaris* on behalf of Figulus, but he died prior to its delivery, in May or June 45. He was a man of immense learning (Cic. *Fam.* 4.13.3; *Tim.* 1; Gell. 17.7, 19.14) and wrote a number of treatises on theology, grammar, and the natural sciences, especially those with an 'occult tinge' (Rawson (1985) 93): 10 are listed at *Der Neue Pauly* 8.890 including a *De Extis*, a *De Augurio Priuato*, a *De Somnis*, and a calendar of lightning. His interests extended to Pythagoreanism, astrology, and magic. He is recorded as having made a prophecy regarding the future greatness and mastery of the new-born Octavian (Suet. *Aug.* 94.5; Cass. Dio 45.1.3). See Della Casa (1962) 9–53; Thesleff (1965) 44 f.; Rawson (1985) 94; *Der Neue Pauly* 8.889 f.; Leigh 26 n. 32.

The *Katarchê*

Whether 642–72 represent Lucan's versification of an actual prophecy made by Figulus on 17 January 49 (see below for the date) or else an invention of the poet put into the mouth of a prominent intellectual of the period who was equally famous for his involvement in the occult and for his Pompeian allegiance is beyond definite resolution. In favour of an actual prophecy is the general accuracy of the astrological information contained within lines 651–65 (see below); the problems associated with Lucan's casting of a *katarchê* over a century in arrears and in a period pre-dating the Julian reform of the calendar in 45 (although these problems are not insurmountable); and the circumstantial evidence of Figulus' earlier prediction regarding Octavian. Against 651–65 representing an actual prophecy stand the eccentric language and structure of the reading compared with surviving examples; the order in which the planets are treated and the omission of the moon; and the many features of Lucan's

own style naturally present throughout the speech, such as Figulus' apostrophes to the planets themselves, as well as the thematic and rhetorical homogeneity of the passage within the rest of book one (Getty (1941) 17–22, (1960) 310–23; Hannah (1996) 180, 185 f.).

The astrological accuracy of lines 651–65 has been much discussed. It has been argued that these lines merely convey a mood of foreboding and are 'almost completely inaccurate' (Morford (1967) 63: 'the real significance lies in its republicanism—the rest is persiflage'). This is a line of scholarship whose most famous manifestation in the twentieth century was Housman's (325–7) comparison of the passage with astronomical information obtained for him by the Nautical Almanac Office for a date 'shortly after the arrival at Rome of the news that Caesar had crossed the Rubicon: say xvi kal. Febr. A.V.C. 705, answering to 28 Nov. 50 B.C. in our reformed calendar', or 17 January 49 in the republican Calendar (see Hannah (1996) 177 with notes). Housman condemned the majority of the information in our passage as false, a conclusion largely predetermined by the astronomical rather than astrological criteria he applied to it. Getty (1941) first attempted to locate the planets within the astrological *dodekatropos*, which Hannah (1996) 177 succinctly defines:

The *dodekatropos* is a construct of astrology, by which the zodiac is divided into twelve sections, called in Latin *templa* or *loci*. The first *templum* is usually situated at the point of the Horoscopus, that part of the zodiac which happens to be rising in the east when an astrologer is casting a horoscope or similar prediction. The second, third, fourth *templa* and so on, coincide with the zodiacal signs in their normal order. The importance of this scheme is that each *templum* has its own influence on an individual's life. Thus the eleventh *templum* was known as ἀγαθὸς δαίμων (good spirit), and the twelfth as κακὸς δαίμων (bad spirit), each affecting certain aspects of one's life for good or bad.

Applying astrological criteria, Getty (1941) 21 f. was able to reconcile the planetary positions in 651–65 to the *dodekatropos* in order to determine the reason for Figulus' pessimism. Notably, Getty adhered to Housman's notion that the actual positions mentioned by Figulus were false, although he believed that they were deliberately falsified by the historical Figulus for partisan reasons rather than acquired

through incompetence. To Getty, the details of 651–65 were recorded in Livy or another source and Lucan has preserved faithfully some but not all of the data he consulted.

Hannah (1996) last addressed the notion of accuracy in these lines and has worked hard to exonerate Lucan of inaccuracy. By comparing Figulus' speech with computations extrapolated from ancient tables of planetary positions in the early imperial period, he has argued that the position of the planets for the period around the outbreak of the civil war accord well with Figulus' predictions, provided the data is read astrologically rather than in terms suited to observational astronomy (Hannah (1996) 185; cf. esp. 178, 187 n. 10).

For the main issues associated with the content of Figulus' speech: Housman 325–7; Getty (1941) 17–22; Floratos (1958); Getty (1960) 310–23; Getty (1961); Beaujeu (1979) 209–23; Hannah (1996) 175–90; Lewis (1998). On Figulus in general: Cramer (1954) 68–70; Swoboda (1964); Gallotta (1974–5) 139–54; Momi-gliano (1984) 201; Freyburger-Galland, Freyburger, and Tautil (1986) 212–19; Le Boeuffe (1989) 58 f.

Structure

Figulus' speech is carefully organized and proceeds in seven distinct sections through three main rhetorical phases. Lines 642–51 form an introduction comprised of two discrete sections. The astrologer begins in the disjunctive style at 642–5, where he offers two absolute and mutually exclusive propositions: either the movements of the stars mean nothing (*errat... nulla cum lege... | mundus et... incerto discurrant sidera motu*), or universal destruction (*urbi generique*) is imminent. The following section at 645–51 makes clear the rhetorical force of Figulus' first proposition, as he entertains four possible manifestations of this destruction; (i) earthquake, (ii) disruption of the earth's climactic balance, (iii) famine, and (iv) poisoning of the waters. These possibilities are capped by an apostrophe to the gods at 649 f. which restates in universal terms (*quod cladis genus... qua peste paratis | saeuitiam*) the specific disasters explored at 645–8. This apostrophe then leads to a summing up of this first section in a broad statement of prognosis (650 f.): the last days of many men are

at hand. The middle of the speech at 651–65 contains the astrological evidence informing Figulus' prophecy. This section of the speech divides into three units. Lines 651–8 feature hypothetical results from unreal zodiacal configurations: these reprise the exploration of possible catastrophes at 645–8, but reframe the examination within more specific astrologically informed inferences. The structural centre of the speech at 658–63 treats the precise *katarchê* underpinning Figulus' speech: Mars is read as dominating in influence over the benign planets. Following this consideration of zodiacal information, Figulus expands the parameters of his consideration at 663–5 to include the stars comprising the *parantellonta* (665 n.). The conclusion of the speech divides into two sections. At 666–70 Figulus makes a specific prognosis which (i) supersedes and corrects his earlier possible and hypothetical manifestations of disaster (at 645–8 and 651–8) and (ii) restates the general prognosis made at 650 f.: civil war will be the *cladis genus* prepared for the world. The speech concludes with paradoxical advice (670–2) arising from the autocracy that will follow the resolution of the war: Rome should drag out the period of conflict for as long as she can.

639 at: begins a new section of the narrative, as frequently in Vergil (e.g. A. 4.1, 296, 393, 504; Austin (1977) on Verg. A. 6.679).

Figulus: see introduction to 639–72.

639–41 cui cura...nosse fuit, quem non...Aegyptia Memphis | aequaret: his astronomical and astrological credentials are emphasized in compound relative clauses in asyndeton (for a similar strategy of introduction, cf. the first appearance of Arruns at 587 f.). Figulus' learning is described in superlative terms at Cic. *Fam.* 4.13.3 (addressed to Figulus) and frequently throughout Aulus Gellius (e.g. 4.9.1 *iuxta M. Varronem doctissimus*, 3.12 pr., 7.6.10, 16.6.12, 17.7.4).

639 secretaque caeli: i.e. *signa caeli* as at 7.203 (cf. 363 *signiferi...caeli*) and e.g. Cic. *Div.* 1.36 (quoted *ad* 641; Pease (1963) *ad loc.* adds Non. p. 402 M *M. Tullius in Hortensio: caeli signorum admirabilem ordinem*). For this particular phrase, cf. Col. 10.1.1.219 *secretaque foedera caeli*; Stat. *Theb.* 10.209 f. *haec egomet caeli secreta uagosque | edocui lapsus?*

639–40 *deos secretaque caeli* | *nosse*: 452 n.

640 Aegyptia Memphis: synecdoche for Egypt as a whole (as frequently in Lucan: 3.222, 6.449, 8.478, 8.542, 10.272; cf. the adjective *Memphiticus* also at 4.136, 10.5; see too Hollis (1977) on Ov. *Ars* 1.77). In the Hellenistic period, Egypt became the conduit through which Babylonian astrology entered the Mediterranean world and Alexandria in particular was a centre for the science (Luck (1985) 311).

641 *numerisque sequentibus astra*: ‘calculations complying with the stars’. Bentley’s emendation from *Ω mouentibus* is not arbitrary (WB, but *numeris* are not ‘les rythmes’; Gagliardi also dissents). It is justified by the logic that astrological calculations have no agency in the movement of the stars but are based upon the observation of their pre-existent motion (cf. Housman; Shackleton Bailey (1987) 75 supports *mouentibus* on two counts: that Statius (below) would not adopt the line wholesale but adapt it (i.e. *mouentibus* for *sequentibus*), and that Lucan is here employing a figure of speech, ‘essentially the same as that by which a writer is said to do what he describes’). Linguistic parallels favour *sequentibus*: Stat. *Theb.* 4.411 *nec tripode implicito numerisque sequentibus astra* (Bentley); Cic. *Div.* 1.36 *qui e Caucaso caeli signa seruantes numeris et modis stellarum cursus persequuntur*, 2.17 *qui siderum motus numeris persequuntur* (Housman). Also versions of *sequentibus astra* are found as a sequence at the line end in Manilius (3.456, 3.519, 3.542) and Statius; *mouentibus astra* is nowhere else.

642–3 *aut... nulla cum lege... | ...incerto... motu*: cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.12.17. Figulus’ attempt to soften his impending speech by (superficially) acknowledging the possibility that the art he practises has no basis in fact picks up the final theme of Arruns’ speech (cf. 631–7). The first alternative, an exposition of the Epicurean view of the universe soon to be crushed under the reality of Stoic causality foreshadows the opening sequence of the next book at 2.7–12 esp. 12 f. *siue nihil positum est, sed fors incerta uagatur | fertque refertque uices et habet mortalia casus* (cf. also Fantham on Luc. 2.1–66 and 2.7–12).

642 *errat... | mundus*: cf. Man. 2.71 f. *erraretque uagus mundus standoue rigeret, | nec sua dispositos seruarent sidera cursus*. The verb

erro is often applied to flying bodies, such as atoms or, as here, the *mobile caelum*: e.g. Lucr. 3.861, 924; Cic. *Fat.* 46; Man. 1.480 (and 2.71 f., above); Sen. *Dial.* 1.1.2 (TLL 5.809.13–19). For *mundus* as the *mobile caelum* (TLL 8.1635.34–49): Tarrant (1976) on Sen. *Ag.* 827 (who cites *Her. F.* 125 f., *Phaedr.* 332 f., 961, *Oed.* 1028).

nulla cum lege: i.e. *sua sponte*; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.12 *stellae sponte sua iussaene uagentur et errent*.

per aeuum: Lucretian, as at e.g. 1.549, 583, 952 (TLL 1.1169.62–1170.11).

643 incerto... motu: cf. 2.12 *fors incerta uagatur* and Sen. *Suas.* 3.1 *incertus sideribus cursus est*. The adjective is often applied to the movements of winds and rivers (TLL 7.1.879.75–880.52). For the collocation: Man. 3.82 *nec tamen incerto confunderet omnia motu* (Getty); add Cic. *Marc.* 23.2 (of human health); Plin. *Nat.* 2.23, 2.97; *Aetna* 233; Sen. *Suas.* 1.9.8.

discurrunt: ‘to run or move this way and that, run about’ (OLD 1b; TLL 5.1.1367.46–55); often in this context in Seneca (cf. e.g. *Dial.* 10.10.5).

sidera motu: a line ending at Man. 3.523.

644 si fata mouent: the alternative is expressed abruptly in three words after the preceding two lines have outlined the Epicurean standpoint. For the phrase, cf. Luc. 8.307 f. *fatis nimis aemula nostris* | *fata mouent Medos*; Man. 2.271 *consensu quoque fata mouent et foedere gaudent*; Sen. *Nat.* 3.27.3 *ergo, cum affuerit illa necessitas temporis, multas simul fata causas mouent*.

644–5 urbi generique paratur | humano matura lues: the clause has a distinctly Senecan ring to it: *Her. F.* 358 *quidnam iste, nostri generis exitium ac lues, | noui parat?*; *Phaedr.* 905 *unde ista uenit generis infandi lues?*; *Oed.* 29 *nam quid rear quod ista Cadmeae lues | infesta genti strage tam late edita | mihi parcit uni?*; cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 10.854 *ceu suprema lues urbi*.

645 matura lues: the collocation is new, but there are comparable examples at Cic. *Div.* 1.36 *mortem*, Ov. *Ep.* 2.143 *nece*, and especially in Seneca: *Oed.* 72 *fata*, *Phaedr.* 857 *letum*, *Phoen.* 304 *leti*, *Tro.* 600 *exitu*, *Dial.* 5.43.2 *finis*, *Ep.* 76.29 *obliuio*. *matura* is ‘imminent’

(OLD 8; TLL 8.502.13–20); *lues* is used in a broad, non-specific sense (TLL 7.1796.31–62), as at e.g. 3.681, 10.504, 9.888.

645–8 There is a similar grouping of disasters enumerated at 8.846–50 *forsitan, aut sulco sterili cum poscere finem | a superis aut Roma uolet feralibus Austris | ignibus aut nimiis aut terrae tecta mouenti, | consilio iussuque deum transibis in urbem, | Magne, tuam, summusque feret tua busta sacerdos.*

645 **terraene dehiscent:** Lucan has dislocated the phenomenon from prodigy to punishment: Cic. *N.D.* 2.14 *repentinis terrarum hiatibus*; Div. 1.97 *cum ad infinitam altitudinem terra desedisset* (with Pease (1968) and (1963) ad loc.); Verg. *G.* 1.479. For *dehisco* used of the earth cf. TLL 5.390.7–19 (since Var. *L.* 5.148 and frequently in Vergil).

646 **subsidentque urbes:** Lucretian: 6.590.

646–7 **tollet feruidus aer | temperiem:** *feruidus aer* is a disaster because in Stoic cosmology (in contrast to the Aristotelian view: e.g. *Gen. Corr.* 330b) the *aer* is cold (e.g. Cic. *N.D.* 2.26 *aer, qui natura est maxime frigidus, minime est expers caloris* with Pease (1968) ad loc.). This cold is fundamental in maintaining the *temperies*, the harmonious balance of elements and meteorological conditions existing between climatic extremes that is the prerequisite to organic life on earth (OLD 2; cf. *κρᾶσις*). The meaning of *temperies* is explicit in Lucan at 9.435 (on the inhospitable climate of Libya) *temperies uitalis abest* (and cf. 4.104–9, 10.207, 230–7; Schotes (1969) 15 f., 26–46). The balance is expounded at Ov. *Met.* 1.49–51 [*plagae telluris*] *quarum quae media est, non est habitabilis aestu; | nix tegit alta duas; totidem inter utramque locauit | temperiemque dedit mixta cum frigore flamma, 1.430–3 quippe ubi temperiem sumpsero umorque calorque, | concipiunt, et ab his oriuntur cuncta duobus, | cumque sit ignis aquae pugna, uapor umidus omnes | res creat, et discors concordia fetibus apta est.* The theme and consequences of its disruption are developed at V. Fl. 2.475–8 *principio morbi caeloque exacta sereno | temperies, arsere rogis certantibus agri, | tum subitus fragor et fluctus Idaea mouentes | cum stabulis nemora. ecce repens consurgere ponto.*

647 segetes tellus infida negabit: seems to adapt Verg. A. 3.142 *uictum seges aegra negabat*; cf. also [Tib.] 3.7.159–63 *seu propior terris aestiuum fertur in orbem | seu celer hibernas properat decurrere luces. | non igitur presso tellus exurgit aratro, | nec frugem segetes praebent neque pabula terrae*. The adjective *infidus* is only used here of *tellus* in an extension of its common application to the sea (TLL 7.1.1419.36–50).

648 omnis an infusis miscebitur unda uenenis: a variation on the conventional image and phrase *miscere sanguine pontum*, which appears at 3.577 (Lyne (1978) *ad Ciris* 76). The collocations *infusis... uenenis* is adapted to necromancy at 8.691 *infuso facies solidata ueneno est*. For the position of *unda* see 100 n.

649–50 quod cladis genus, o superi, qua peste paratis | saeuitiam: cf. 660 *quid tantum, Gradiue, paras?*; 2.14 f. [*rector Olympi*] *sit subitum quodcumque paras*. Note the imbalanced arrangement of clauses (Housman, citing Verg. G. 4.505); cf. also V. Fl. 1.847 f. (Getty). *cladis genus* is previously collocated at Liv. 29.8.11 *alio genere cladis*.

650–1 extremi... | ...dies: Getty cites Haskins's translation and adduces Ov. *Ep.* 1.114 to prove this means 'last day' but the idiom is both common and transparent in meaning; cf. 2.105 f. *non senis extremum piguit uergentibus annis | praecepisse diem*; TLL 5.2002.75–9.

in unum | conuenere: Lucretian (cf. esp. 2.686 f. *dissimiles igitur formae glomeramen in unum | conueniunt*) and frequently adapted in Vergil (*Ecl.* 7.2; A. 8.576, 9.801, 10.410, 12.714) (Clausen (1994) on Verg. *Ecl.* 7.2).

651–7 Figulus' actual katarchê is preceded by two conditional sentences involving Saturn, the sun, and the potentially cataclysmic ramifications of their position in the zodiac; neither planet is in the position requisite for inundation and conflagration and Hannah (1996) 180 makes the attractive suggestion that Figulus is allaying the fears of his audience as much as is possible by opening with the news that two of the three maleficent planets (Saturn, Mars, and the sun by association with these; 652 n.) are not in their worst possible positions.

651 **summo...caelo**: a difficult phrase to pin down. Housman 326, working from astronomical rather than astrological data, entertained various possibilities (the seventh heaven, the meridian overhead; or the *ὑψος*, meaning either the apogee or the extreme northern declination). Getty (1941) 19 rightly reconsidered the passage in astrological terms, first proposing the midpoint above the horizon, the *medium caelum*, and later (1960) 323, its exact opposite, the *imum caelum*. Hannah (1996) 181 has demonstrated that for the pre-dawn twilight of 17 January 49, the *medium caelum* was occupied by Leo and the *imum caelum* by Aquarius; Saturn was in neither position, but in Libra, and therefore the threat of Figulus' apodosis, inundation, is removed.

frigida: an epithet of Saturn at Verg. *G.* 1.336 *frigida Saturni sese quo stella receptet*; cf. Vit. 6.1.11; Plin. *Nat.* 18.209. Servius associates the adjective with the present context of inundation at *G.* 1.336 *ideo autem hoc dicit, quia Saturnus deus pluuiarum est*; Vitruvius explains it as a function of its outermost distance at 9.1.16 *Saturni autem, quod est proxima extremo mundo tangitque congelatas caeli regiones, uehementer est frigida*.

652 **stella nocens**: in astrological reasoning, Mars and Saturn are the maleficent planets (Serv. *A.* 4.92; Porphyrio on Hor. *Carm.* 2.17.22–4; Hannah (1996) 179 f.).

nigros...ignes: cf. 6.502 of the moon in a supernatural context. Housman explains this occurrence as part of the standard description of Saturn and adduces Vettius Valens 6.2 and Manetho 5.334.

653 **Deucalioneos fudisset Aquarius imbres**: cf. especially the four-word line at Ov. *Met.* 7.356 *Deucalioneas effugit inobrutus undas*. For adjectives similarly occupying the first two and a half feet: 4.366 *incustoditos*, 4.461 *Tauromenitanam*, 8.407 *Oedipodionias*, 9.644 *Amphitryoniades*. See Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.407 on four-word lines in general and in Lucan (also at 4.461, 4.680, 6.340, 6.386, 6.809, 7.394, 8.407); for the adjective instead of a noun in the genitive, see 581 n. There is particular point to the adjective (Getty: approximately 'suos'), since Aquarius was associated with Deucalion at e.g. Amp. 2.11.2 *Aquarius, qui putatur esse Ganymedes; dicitur Deucalion Thessalus*; Germ. *Arat.* 562.

654 **diffuso...in aequare:** collocated again at 4.82; before Lucan at Man. 2.225, 4.630; after at Sil. 1.622, 3.48, 7.258.

aequare tellus: a line ending again at 9.306 and at Stat. *Theb.* 12.12.

655–6 **si...radiis...Phoebe, Leonem | nunc premeres:** the notion of the sun in the sign of Leo at this time of year is an impossibility. It was in Sagittarius (Hannah (1996) 181). For the phrase (which led Bentley to amend *saeuum* to *tergum*), cf. Sen. *Oed.* 40 *Titan, leonis terga Nemeaei premens*. There is some irony in Nigidius' ruling out universal conflagration in light of the narrator's ekpyrotic simile of the descent into civil war at 72–80 and the use of the conflagration as a more general symbol for civil war throughout the poem: see 67–97 introd.

saeuum...Nemeaeum: the double adjective is negated somewhat by the close association of *Nemeaeus* with *Leo*, which are, in effect, one unit of sense (Getty).

656 **fluerent incendia:** for *fluo* of fire, cf. Sil. 17.101 f., Claud. *Rapt.* 2.316.

incendia mundo: a line ending at Man. 1.747, 1.907, 5.17.

657 **succensusque...flagrasset...aether:** cf. Luc. 2.413 *succendit Phaethon flagrantibus aethera loris*; Man. 5.744 f. *ipse suas aether flammis sufferre nequiret, | totus et accenso mundus flagraret Olympo*; Sen. *Her. O.* 1385–7 *non ipse si in me, mater, hic mundus ruat | superque nostros flagret incensus toros | Phoebeus axis*.

658 **hi cessant ignes:** 'these stars are inactive' (*OLD* *cesso* 4a): the verb had been used in this context at Lucr. 4.391; *TLL* 3.961.26–54.

658–60 **tu...|Scorpion incendis...|...Gradiue:** Getty and Housman both take this to refer to the presence of Mars within Scorpio, but this would be the only instance in the *katarchê* of situating a planet within a sign. Hannah (1996) 181 has suggested that the issue crucial to this passage is not physical position but astrological aspect. Mars was within Pisces on the date of Figulus' reading, four signs distant from Scorpio and therefore, in astrological terminology, in 'trine aspect' to it. Furthermore, Scorpio is one of the two astrological Houses of Mars and subsequently particularly susceptible to its

influence. The meaning may therefore be that Mars affects Scorpio indirectly but significantly.

658–9 flagrante minacem | Scorpion...cauda: cf. Verg. *G.* 1.34 f. *brachia contrahit ardens | Scorpis*; Germ. *Arat.* 311 *Scorpis: ille micat supra freta caerula cauda*; Man. 1.268 *attrahit ardenti fulgentem Scorpion astro*, 4.553 *Scorpis extremae cum tollet lumina caudae*. See also 621–2 n.

659 chelas: the claws of the constellation, which extend into the sign Libra, and are often counted as Libra (as at 2.691), but here in reference to Scorpio itself (despite *TLL* 3.1003.59): Housman ad loc.; 658–60 n.

660 quid tantum, Gradiue, paras: (649–50 n.) cf. Verg. *A.* 5.14 *quidue, pater Neptune, paras?* This direct address of the planets within a *katarchê* is apparently unique in the surviving horoscopal literature, both actual and fictional (Hannah (1996) 186).

660–2 Figulus now proceeds to the beneficent planets Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury.

660–1 mitis... | **Iuppiter:** the adjective reflects Jupiter's astrological benevolence (Hannah (1996) 180; for this concept: Bouché-Leclercq (1899) 101; Goold (1992) xcvi). The collocation occurs in epic again at Sil. 7.239 f.

in alto | Iuppiter occasu premitur: this does not necessarily mean that Jupiter was hidden below the horizon (Getty). Hannah (1996) 182 has argued that the verb is used in Manilius of sinking, but '...this sinking starts from *medium caelum* and passes through the *occasus* on the western horizon, to *imum caelum*, the lowest point on the zodiacal circuit below the horizon'. *premitur* may only imply that Jupiter had begun this process, and *in alto occasu* may in this context mean 'well above the horizon'. This interpretation finds support from the actual astrological data for the date of Figulus' reading: Jupiter is in Leo, itself at the *medium caelum*. The passage may mean that Jupiter had begun the process of sinking but was still at the topmost point of that decline.

661–2 Venerisque salubre | sidus hebet: the epithet refers to her benevolent influence in astrological contexts (cf. 660–1 *mitis...* |

Iuppiter). Getty proposes an allusion to the physical dimming of Venus because of her proximity to the Sun. Hannah (1996) 182 f. argues for astrological rather than astronomical relevance. Saturn's presence in the same sign (Libra) as Venus diminishes (*hebet*) her usually benign influence. Worse, Venus can be seen as being hemmed in and influenced by the malevolent planet Mars on either side, since Scorpio is in 'trine aspect' with Pisces (where Mars was: 658–60 n.). Virgo is diametrically opposed to Pisces in the zodiac and therefore also under the influence of its occupant, Mars.

662 motuque celer Cyllenius haeret: Getty is correct to note that Mercury is here at one of the two apparently stationary points on its orbit, both of which occur when the planet is between the sun and the earth. Hannah (1996) 183 adduces the astrological significance of this phenomenon: the failure of a planet to proceed in a direct motion exerts a malign influence over that planet. Mercury is neither beneficent nor maleficent by nature, but either according to circumstance, and falls to the latter nature in the present context. The name *Cyllenius* alludes to Mercury's birth on Mt Cyllene in Arcadia, also his cult centre (Austin (1955) on Verg. A. 4.252).

663 caelum Mars solus habet: Housman, Getty, WB, and Gagliardi all take this to mean that only Mars is visible above the horizon and condemn Lucan for his mistake (cf. e.g. Housman 327 'Far from it: all the planets were visible, and all in full or normal lustre except Saturn, which was rather near the sun. Even Mercury, so seldom to be espied, was almost at his brightest.'). But, again, astrological rather than astronomical meaning may inhere. Hannah (1996) 183 f. has illustrated that, if Scorpio was rising at the moment of the *katarchê*, then it was in the Horoscopus, a circumstance that makes Mars the sole House-Ruler, or *οἰκοδεσπότης*, of the Horoscopus. On this interpretation, *caelum* here refers to the entire sky, above and below the horizon, as at e.g. Man. 2.914, 966. The meaning may be that Mars alone dominates the *katarchê* (OLD *habeo* 6a).

meatus: 'the line followed by a moving body, course, path' (OLD 2; TLL 8.513.48–55); cf. Lucr. 1.128 *solis lunaeque meatus*; Verg. A. 6.849 *caelique meatus* with Austin (1977) ad loc.

664 mundo: for *caelum* as at 643.

665 ensiferi ... Orionis: for the compound adjective see 48 n. and cf. Ov. *Ars* 2.56 *ensiger Orion*; *Fast.* 4.388 *ensifer Orion*, all coined after Eur. *Ion* 1153 ξιφήρης Ὠρίων. The compound is next found here, then at V. Fl. 3.406; Stat. *Theb.* 4.321, *Achil.* 2.129. The inclusion of Orion in the *katarchê* is 'unusual, although not unique' (Hannah (1996) 186), since ancient horoscopes extend to include the *paranatellonta*, stars that accompany the stars of the zodiac as they rise or set (see also Man. 5.32–709 esp. 57–66; Tester (1987) 42–4; Barton (1994) 22). For Orion's influence in particular: Ov. *Fast.* 5.545–52; Sen. *Her. F.* 12; Firmicus Maternus 8.6.10; Serv. A. 3.517.

nimum fulget: brilliance is the standard feature of the constellation: Cic. *Arat.* 34.102, 291, 368; Ov. *Met.* 13.294; Man. 5.61–3, 723.

latus: as Getty comments, the equivalent of Ov. *Fast.* 6.787 *zona*, 'namely the three bright stars δ, ε, and ζ Orionis'.

Orionis: cf. the spondaic line ending Ὠρίωνις at Hom. *Il.* 18.486; Hes. *Op.* 598, 615, 619, where metre is affected by the original Ὠρίωνις. Ovid (*Met.* 13.294) shortened the third vowel to avoid the spondee, as here (NH on Hor. *Carm.* 1.18.21; Hopkinson (2000) on Ov. *Met.* 13.294; 329 n.).

666 armorum rabies, ferrique potestas: collapsed at Stat. *Theb.* 4.361 *ferri rabies*; cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 7.22 *rabies ferrique insana uoluptas*.

armorum rabies: cf. Pompey at 2.535 *Gallica per gelidas rabies ecfunditur Alpes*. For the phrase, cf. Verg. *A.* 8.327 *belli rabies*; V. Max. 5.8.5 *belli ciuilis rabies*; Sil. 5.394 *fert belli rabiem*.

ferrique potestas: Lucan is fond of combining an abstract noun with the concrete defining genitive *ferri*: cf. e.g. 8 *licentia ferri*, 355 *diro ferri ... amore*, 5.312, 5.387 *ferri ius*, perhaps on the analogy of the Lucretian phrase (e.g. 5.1286) *uis ferri*; cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 4.361, 7.22 (quoted at 666 n.).

666–7 ferrique potestas | confundet ius omne manu: a naked restatement of the poem's central subject matter: 2 *iusque datum sceleris* (2 n.). Getty cites Ov. *Met.* 6.585 f. *sed fasque nefasque | confusura ruit* and (Cortius') Eur. *Suppl.* 311. *manu* is 'by force' (Sall. *Iug.* 31 *non manu neque ui*): TLL 353.68–354.17.

667–8 scelerique nefando | nomen erit uirtus: illustrated explicitly in the person of Scaeva at 6.147 f. *pronus ad omne nefas et qui nesciret*

in armis | *quam magnum uirtus crimen ciuilibus esset*. Lejay compared Sen. *Her. F.* 251–3 *abesse terris: prosperum ac felix scelus* | *uirtus uocatur; sontibus parent boni*, | *ius est in armis*, but there is a long tradition of displacement of these signifieds and signifiers beginning with Thuc. 3.82.4–7; the theme is continued into Latin literature at Catul. 64.405; Sall. *Cat.* 52.11; Verg. *G.* 1.505; Ov. *Ars* 1.739 f. For the collocation *scelus nefandum*, repeated at 4.228, cf. Cic. *Cat.* 4.13, *Har.* 42, *Phil.* 13.22; Catul. 64.397; Sen. *Her. F.* 1004; [Sen.] *Oct.* 502.

668 multosque exhibit in annos: the verb means ‘to last’ (*OLD* 10b; *TLL* 5.1366.43–5), as at Ov. *Fast.* 4.947, Plin. *Ep.* 2.11.8.

669 hic furor: enjambment makes all the more effective the allusion to 8 *quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri?*

superos poscere: cf. Sil. 5.408 *superosque reposcit* | *tempora promissae media iam morte senectae*.

superos poscere finem: cf. 8.846 f. *forsitan, aut sulco sterili cum poscere finem* | *a superis aut Roma uolet feralibus Austris*; Liv. 3.7.8 *stratae passim matres, crinibus templa uerrentes, ueniam irarum caelestium finemque pesti exposcunt*; Flor. *Epit.* 1.31.38 *igitur in alium Scipionem conuersa res publica finem belli reposcebat*.

670 cum domino: Figulus means Augustus (see introd. 639–72); elsewhere in *BC* Caesar is figured as *dominus*: 7.645 f., 9.279.

pax ista: i.e. the *finis* of the previous line (not alluding to 669 *hic*: Getty, WB).

duc: not ‘probably a reference to the troubles after Caesar’s death’ (Getty); more likely an injunction to resist Caesar, the *dominus* who will come with the peace. Note also Lucan’s use of the simple for the compound *producere*.

Roma, malorum: a line ending again at 6.312 and 7.410.

670–1 malorum | ...series: cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.564, *Pont.* 1.4.19, 2.7.45; [Quint.] *Decl.* 17.3.14; Stat. *Theb.* 2.267.

671 continuam: proleptic (Getty). For the collocation *continua series*: Plin. *Nat.* 7.133.4; Tac. *Hist.* 4.54 *continua ciuiliū bellorum series*.

671–2 clademque in tempora multa | **extrahe**: the advice looks back to and amplifies the reality of 668 *multosque exhibit in annos*. The verb

extrahere in the sense of ‘to extend in time’, coupled with nouns indicating conflict first appears in Livy: cf. e.g. 3.2 *extractum in tertium annum bellum est*, 4.41.5 *usque ad noctem extractum certamen* (TLL 5.2068.76–2069.12).

672 ciuili tantum iam libera bello: Figulus’ speech ends in paradox underscored and resolved by the compounded adverbs *tantum iam* and given further force from the juxtaposition of *libera* with *bello*; cf. Cato’s assessment of the world at 2.279–81 *quibus adde Catonem | subiuga Pompei, toto iam liber in orbe | solus Caesar erit*. Figulus alludes to the same ethical imperative as Cato: ‘the concept of *libertas*, for the Roman senatorial class a watchword denoting their right to govern according to the laws of the *res publica*... must be balanced against the evils of civil war’ (Fantham on 2.280–1; cf. Wirszubski (1950) 136).

673–95 THE VISION OF THE FRENZIED MATRONA

A Roman *matrona* possessed by Apollo is swept through the city, prophesying the events of the civil war and beyond.

Lines 673–95 evoke a number of scenes of possession and prophecy from earlier literature. Particularly influential seems to have been Cassandra at Sen. Ag. 720–74 esp. 720–42. There the prophetess is spontaneously possessed by Apollo to divine both past events and those that are yet to be played out within the plot of the tragedy. During her vision she is transported to different geographical locations relevant to her vision (Argos, Troy, Hades) and she speaks in a series of brief, agitated questions that reveal the content and help organize the structure of her vision for the internal and external audience (720–2, 724–6, 730 f., 734–7, 741 f.). Lucan’s *matrona* shares both these features of Cassandra’s vision as well as a number of phrases and items of vocabulary from the Senecan passage, although both operate within a specific tradition where correspondences are to be expected (674 *Edonis* cf. 719 *maenas*; 678 *quo feror?*, 683 *quo diuersa feror?* cf. 726 *ubi sum?*; 676, 678 cf. 722; 695 cf. 775–7): details

ultimately deriving from Aeschylus' Cassandra survive in our account, mediated through Latin sources.

Also of basic importance to this scene is the opening of Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.1–6, in which the narrator describes his own possession by Bacchus in a tripartite sequence of agitated questions and vocabulary we see prominently redeployed in Lucan:

Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui
 plenum? quae nemora aut quos agor in specus
 uelox mente noua? quibus
 antris egregii Caesaris audiar
 aeternum meditans decus
 stellis inserere et consilio Iouis?

The ostensibly pro-Augustan content of the ode may have been as influential as the details of possession it contains (NR on Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.10–11). Further details and themes are imported from (or through) various passages in Vergil's *Aeneid*: the presentation of Dido, whose characterization is shot through with Maenadic content in *A.* 4 (674 f.: *A.* 301–3; 676: *A.* 4.68 f., 300 f., 666; 678: *A.* 4.595, 110), the possession of the Sibyl by Apollo at *A.* 6.77–97 (677: cf. *A.* 6.48 f.; 693: *A.* 6.87) and the feigned possession of Amata by Bacchus at *A.* 7.373–405 (676: cf. *A.* 7.377).

Lucan's particular manner of galvanizing these disparate sources at 673–95 forms something of a set piece in Flavian epic. Valerius Flaccus adapts this scene at 1.205–39. On the eve of the departure of the Argonauts, the seer Mopsus has a pessimistic vision of the events of the impending voyage in which he presents a number of the poem's events in ambiguous terms similar to the style adopted by Lucan. In this context it is important to note that Valerius also has his visionary see beyond the (probable) narrative scope of his epic, since Mopsus sees Medea's infanticide and her escape at 224–7 (also in *ὑστέρων πρότερον*, as at 688–91). Kleywegt (2005) on V. Fl. 1.211–26 assembles a list of verbal similarities found in the two passages and argues that the function of Valerius' prophecy is to amplify the content of his epic, a structural function shared by the *matrona's* vision. Statius also adapts the scene at *Theb.* 4.369–404. Significantly, he also places it after a catalogue of troops (4.32–308; cf. Luc. 1.392–465) and an

account of the various rumours at the outset of the campaign (4.369–77; cf. Luc. 1.469–86). A Maenad rushes on to the plain and recounts to the Argive army in cryptic utterances her vision of the final battle of Polynices and Eteocles in book eleven, and the subsequent assumption of power by Creon in book twelve. Again, the function of the adaptation is parallel to the vision of Lucan's *matrona*, in that the prophetic vision is separated from its fulfilment by a large number of books, it heightens a general sense of foreboding, it predicts a ruinous outcome to the key battle of the narrative, and it invests the events of the epic with menacing supernatural nuances. Silius adapts the *matrona*'s frenzied vision at 8.656–76. He suppresses the immediate agent of the possessing deity, changes the possessed to a soldier from the army of C. Terentius Varro and L. Aemilius Paulus, and locates the vision in the immediate context of the battle of Cannae. Again, Silius follows the loose structure observed by Statius: catalogue (8.349–621), unfavourable omens (8.622–55), vision. Silius' version follows the basic tone and vocabulary of Lucan's scene (with some witty variations on the theme: cf. 8.666 *quo, Varro, fugis?*), although his apparitions are recounted in less ambiguous language than either Lucan or Statius. Silius innovates in that his vision is recounted in the immediate context of the battle whose outcome it predicts, but the function of the scene as established by Lucan is preserved.

Structure

The *matrona*'s speech is organized clearly into an introduction followed by five distinct geographical and historical phases (*contra* Lebek 174 f.), each of which comprises two elements. The vision is introduced to the reader at 678 f. with two excited questions, the second restating, extending, and explaining the first. The opening of the speech establishes by its vocabulary and intertextual allusions (see 678 n.) the involuntary nature of the possession and the disorientation of the *matrona*: a disorientation shared by the internal audience of the speech but not by the reader (Lebek 173 'klar für den Leser, aber dunkel für die *pauida plebs* [at 673]'). Lines 679–82 deal with Pharsalus: a line and a half of description is followed by two lines of impassioned questioning. The wording of these ques-

tions reaches back to the opening of the book; they engage with and illustrate in the specific context of the battle of Pharsalus the overarching and more generalizing concerns of the introduction, which look to their culmination in book seven and beyond (681 f. *quis furor hic, o Phoebe, doce, quo tela manusque | Romanae miscent acies bellumque sine hoste est*; cf. 8 *quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri?*, 12, 23 *nondum tibi defuit hostis*, 30–2). The next phase of the vision at 683–6 is reanimated by the repetition of the opening question and passive verb of motion (678 *quo feror*; 683 *quo diuersa feror*): here, the death of Pompey in Egypt comprises a line-and-a-half periphrasis for Egypt and a line-and-a-half allusion to Pompey’s corpse, which through a bravura moment of intertextual dexterity links Pompey with Vergil’s Priam at A. 2.557 f. (itself an allusion to the historical Pompey) and establishes an equivalence between the general and the king; an allusion which renders Pompey’s lifeless and deformed corpse a kind of synecdochic representation of the fall of civilizations (see 685–6 n.). Lines 686–8 again redeploy the verb *feror* (687) to mark the transition to the *matrona*’s vision of the campaigns in North Africa following the death of Pompey. In these lines the description of her destination (686 f.) is balanced by her explanation of why her vision has moved to this location: just as the *matrona* has been conveyed there by divine agency (687 *feror*), so too the forces that met at Pharsalus have been transported wholly into Africa by malevolent supernatural powers (687 f. *Enyo | transtulit*) for the battle to replay there. Lines 688–91 mark the transition to Munda in Spain and thence to Italy (in reverse order) by a passive verb of motion (690 *abripimur*) in which the description of the Alps balances her vision of Caesar’s assassination in the senate. The prepositional phrase 688 *nunc desuper Alpis* echoes 686 *super aequora* from earlier phases of the vision and 678 *super aethera* from the introductory sequence and builds the tone of relentless movement and repetition. The final section of the speech at 692–4 (marked by the verb of motion at 693 *rursus eo*) is divided into equal parts description of events following Caesar’s assassination and complaint against Apollo at the repetition of her journey. The return to Philippi and the self-conscious repetition of vocabulary (679 f. *uideo Pangaea... | ...latosque Philippos*; cf. 694 *uidi iam... Philippos*) effect a ring composition for the vision out of the historical circumstances of the

war and thereby integrate the vision into the text's insistence upon repetitive cycles and the endlessness of civil war.

The *matrona's* vision was at one time used to determine the overall structure of the epic (Bruère (1950) 225–7, Due (1962) 129–31, Dick (1963) 40), but the apparitions recounted at 673–95 are better understood as presenting *external* prolepses—indications of plot developments subsequent to the termination of the narrative (i.e. ‘allusions [which] do not themselves tell a story, but suggest a story that is yet to be told’, Roberts (1988) 190 on Sophoclean closure)—rather than *internal* prolepses (which Bruère, Due, and Dick assumed these to be), which foreshadow events yet to be recounted within the narrative itself (on these terms: Genette (1980) 68; against a structural significance in lines 673–95: Ahl 311–16, Masters 237 f. ‘by the same sort of argument, the *Iliad* must end with the death of Achilles, the fall of Troy’, Hershkowitz (1998*b*) 14–32 esp. 18 f., 29–32 with useful comments on the phenomenon in Valerius Flaccus).

673–4 *terruerant...pavidam praesagia plebem | sed maiora premunt*: the narrator echoes Arruns’ pessimistic prophecy at 634 f. *non fanda timemus, | sed uenient maiora metu*. Lucan here adapts the context, vocabulary, and alliteration of the narrative transition at Verg. A. 2.199 f. *hic aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum | obicitur magis atque improvida pectora turbat*: an allusion which imports nuances of the *Iliupersis* into Lucan’s narrative that will continue to be developed throughout book two. In both cases, the transition from one supernatural context (cf. Austin (1964) on Verg. A. 2.199) to another, more openly terrifying one is effected by an oblique reference to more frightening apparitions which are then explained by the following section of narrative: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 3.522 f. *sed similes non ante metus aut astra notaui | prodigiosa magis; quamquam maiora parantur*, 4.377 f. *nouus his super anxia turbat | corda metus*.

In the present sentence, the tripartite alliteration of the line (as at 13 *potuit pelagique parari*) is reinforced by its reprisal in the last word of the second clause. *satis* looks forward to 674 *sed maiora* and establishes the increasing intensity of the clauses governed by *terruerant* and *premunt*. This contrast in intensity, along with the effectiveness of the sentence as a whole, is underscored in a variety of ways. Note the contrasting tenses of the two verbs and their

chiastic arrangement, both with their adverbial phrases (*terruerant satis haec... | sed maiora premunt*) at the opening of their respective lines and with their respective subjects; so too, the zeugma of the subject *praesagia* to verbs of increasing physicality adds to this escalation in intensity. The epigrammatic punch of the sentence arises in large part from its simplicity: two main verbs bookend either end of the sentence in clauses arranged in parataxis.

673 terruerant...pavidam praesagia plebem: Silius adapts at 8.631 [*omina*] *terruerunt pavidos...nautas*.

pavidam...plebem: cf. 153 *populosque pauentes*, 592 *pavidis a ciuibus*. The adjective *pavidus* has a particular association with numina, omens, and portents at Verg. *A.* 2.685, 8.349; Ov. *Met.* 3.99, 3.688; in *BC*, the association is at 592, here, 5.124, 6.657, 6.661. After Lucan: *Stat. Theb.* 3.457; Sil. 8.631 (cf. *TLL* 10.2.814.37–49); see also 592 n.

praesagia: used absolutely previously only at Sen. *Nat.* 2.32.5; then here and at 8.43 f. (*TLL* 10.2.812.42–813.3). The noun *praesagia* is found 4x in *BC*, the adjective *praesagus* 5x (Verg. *A.* 1:1; Ov. *Met.* 4:4; V. Fl. 0:3; *Stat. Theb.* 4:6, *Achil.* 2:0; Sil. 2:8).

674 maiora premunt: ‘worse afflicts them’ (*OLD* *premo* 8a); cf. Verg. *A.* 3.47 *formidine pressus*; Man. 1.512 *fatis Asiae iam Graecia pressa est*; Sen. *Oed.* 798 *premat mentem timor*, *Phaed.* 950 *magna ni premerent mala*; Luc. 5.758 *fata premunt*, 8.544 (*TLL* 10.2.1176.60–1177.22). For the sentiments here cf. 522–4 *nequa futuri | spes saltem trepidas mentes leuet, addita fati | peioris manifesta fides*; 634 f. *non fanda timemus, | sed uenient maiora metu*; *Stat. Theb.* 9.850 f. *urguent praesagia mille | funeris. maiora* is often used of the marvellous or supernatural (*TLL* 8.137.72–6, 138.32, 59; Austin (1964) on Verg. *A.* 2.199).

nam: completes the narrative transition initiated by 673 f. by explaining *maiora premunt*.

674–5 qualis...Edonis: for other Maenadic similes in epic, cf. Verg. *A.* 4.301–3 *qualis commotis excita sacris | Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho | orgia nocturnusque uocat clamore Cithaeron*; V. Fl. 6.755–7 *ut fera Nyctelii paulum per sacra resistunt, | mox rapuere deum iamiam <in> quodcumque paratae | Thyiades*; Sil. 4.776

(adapting details from 674–80) *Edōnis ut Pangaea super trieteride mota | it iuga et inclusum suspirat pectore Bacchum*. Outside of epic, the simile is frequent, especially in Ovid and in Senecan drama: Prop. 1.3.5–6; Ov. *Am.* 1.14.21 f., *Ars* 3.710, *Ep.* 4.47, 10.48 *qualis ab Ogygio concita Baccha deo*, *Tr.* 4.1.41; Sen. *Med.* 382–6 *Incerta qualis entheos gressus tulit | cum iam recepto maenas insanit deo | Pindi niualis uertice aut Nysae iugis, | talis recursat huc et huc motu effero, | furoris ore signa lymphati gerens*, *Tro.* 673–6 *turmas Amazon strauit, aut qualis deo | percussa Maenas entheo siluas gradu | armata thyrsos terret atque expers sui | uulnus dedit nec sensit*, *Oed.* 1005–7 *qualis attonita et furens | Cadmea mater abstulit gnato caput | sensitue raptum*, [Sen.] *Her. O.* 243–5 *aut iussa thyrsos quater conceptum ferens | Maenas Lyaeum dubia quo gressus agat | haesit parumper, 701 f. qualis Baccho saucia Thyias, | fertur rapido regina gradu*.

674–6 *qualis... | ... | talis*: this is the only place in *BC* where both of these correlatives are used.

674 *uertice Pindi*: a high (8,000 feet), windswept (Callim. *Hymn* 4.138 f.) mountain range that divides Thessaly from Epirus. One of the favourite locations for Dionysus and his acolytes at Sen. *Med.* 382–4 (quoted at 674–5), *Oed.* 432–8 *te Bassaridum comitata cohors | nunc Edono pede pulsauit | sola Pangaeo, | nunc Threicio uertice Pindi; | nunc Cadmeas inter matres | impia maenas | comes Ogygio uenit Iaccho, | nebride sacra praecincta latus* (*RE* 20.1700.53–1704.1; NH on Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.6; Costa (1973) on Sen. *Med.* 384). For the line, cf. V. Fl. 1.255 *Iamque aderat summo decurrens uertice Chiron*; Silius redeploys the line ending *uertice Pindi* at 4.520.

675–6 Note the consecutive, rhyming noun-adjective pairs at the main caesura and line end.

675 A line remarkable for its Graecisms as much as for the fact that all three Greek words, *Edonis*, *Ogygius*, and *Lyaeus*, are *hapax legomena* in *BC*.

Edonis: the Edonians were a tribe whose king was driven insane by Dionysus (575 n.). Aeschylus wrote a Dionysiac tragedy, *Edonians*. Edonian women are a poetic byword for bacchantes. (cf. Prop. 1.3.5; Ov. *Met.* 11.69 with Bömer (1969–86) ad loc.; Hor. *Carm.* 2.7.27 with NH ad loc.): Lucan does not use the word

maenas. For the prosody of *Edōnis* (first here, then at Sil. 4.776): Serv. A. 12.365.

Ogygio: a poetic adjective denoting Thebes, from Ogygos, the legendary founder of the city (Paus. 9.5.1; Var. R. 3.1.2; Festus p. 178.41; RE 17.2076.56–2078.56). It is somewhat rare (Lyne (1978) on *Ciris* 220; Knox (1995) on Ov. *Ep.* 10.48), but is found as early as Accius and had come into (relatively) greater prominence in the early imperial period: cf. e.g. Acc. *trag.* 273; *Aetna* 573; *Ciris* 220; Ov. *Ep.* 10.48; Sen. *Oed.* 437 *comes Ogygio uenit Iaccho*, 589; V. Fl. 2.623 *Ogygii... trieterica Bacchi*; Stat. *Theb.* 2.85 f. *Ogygii... Iacchi | odor* (and often (27x), naturally, in the *Thebaid*).

plena Lyaeo: a frequent cult title for Bacchus in his aspect as Lyaeus, ‘the loosener (λύειν) [from care]’, and from there commonly applied to wine. *plena Lyaeo* represents the state of being *ἐνθεος*, the condition by which ‘the experience of communion with God... transformed a human being into a *βάκχος* or a *βάκχη*’ (Dodds (1960) xii–xiii): cf. 5.166; Hor. *Carm.* 2.19.6 *plenoque Bacchi pectore*; 3.25.1 f. *me, Bacche, ... tui | plenum*; Ov. *Trag.* 2 (*Medea*) *feror huc illuc, uae, plena deo*; *Fast.* 6.538 *fitque sui toto pectore plena dei* (Norden (1916²) on Verg. A. 6.77–80; Dodds (1960) xiii–xiv; NH on Hor. *Carm.* 2.19.6). *plena Lyaeo* is an epic line ending again at Sil. 16.308.

676–7 **talis et**: Shackleton Bailey (1982) 92 suspected with good reason a lacuna between *talis* and *et* such as *talis <inops animi subitoque instincta furore | saeuit> et*.

676 **attonitam**: the force of the adjective is felt by both the city and the *matrona* (Getty): *attonita... urbs* is found again at Luc. 3.98; V. Fl. 3.209; Stat. *Theb.* 7.452; Juv. 4.77, 11.199. The description of the city’s reaction as audience to the *matrona*’s prophetic civil war narrative aligns it with Lucan’s future audience at 7.207–13, who will read his poem as though it described events yet to unfold:

haec et apud seras gentes populosque nepotum,

 cum bella legentur,
 spesque metusque simul perituraque uota mouebunt,

attonitique omnes ueluti uenientia fata,
non transmissa, legent et adhuc tibi, Magne, fauebunt.

The state of being *attonita* in the midst of possession or frenzied behaviour makes itself felt from Sen. *Oed.* 1005, *Phoen.* 433, and after Lucan at e.g. [Sen.] *Her. O.* 246, 1024; Sil. 8.656 f. *praesagus, et ore | attonito sensuque simul.*

rapitur matrona per urbem: cf. 609 *abripimur*. The verb is characteristic of bacchic frenzy at Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.1; Ov. *Fast.* 4.457 f.; Sen. *Ag.* 722 (NR on Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.1), V. Fl. 6.756. For the phrase cf. Verg. *A.* 4.68 f. [of Dido, repeatedly associated with Maenads] *uritur infelix Dido totaque uagatur | urbe furens*, 4.300 f. [*Dido*] *totamque incensa per urbem | bacchatur*, 4.666 *concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem*, 7.377 [*Amata*] *immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem* (with Horsfall ad loc.); V. Fl. 2.273. The very notion of bacchic frenzy *per urbem* is paradoxical (Harrison (1991) on Verg. *A.* 10.41 and cf. Verg. *A.* 4.300–1): cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.2 *quae nemora aut quos agor in specus?*

677 uocibus his: a formulaic phrase introducing or concluding direct speech at 2.241, 8.96, 8.262, 9.215; cf. Verg. *A.* 1.64, 9.83; Ov. *Met.* 9.674; V. Fl. 1.302, 2.126, 7.384; Sil. 5.81.

prodens urgentem pectora Phoebum: cf. 5.156 f. *ueritam se credere Phoebō | prodiderant* (for *prodo*: OLD 8b; TLL 10.2.1623.38–57). Lucan often replaces the infinitive in an object clause with a present participle: 254, 272, 477, 527. The revelation that the *matrona* is in fact possessed by Apollo, but behaves as though she were possessed by Dionysus (*qualis Ogygio . . . plena Lyaeo*), has a compounding effect (since Lucan effects a kind of double possession) upon the reader: adverbial information (*talis . . . rapitur matrona*) about the nature of the *matrona*'s behaviour is transferred from the simile to the narrative itself (on this kind of trespass: Lyne (1989) 92–9). Note again, as at 673, the tripartite alliteration of the line. The effect of Apollo upon those he inspires is described at 5.97–101 *hoc ubi uirgineo conceptum est pectore numen, | humanam feriens animam sonat oraque uatis | soluit, ceu Siculus flammis urgentibus Aetnam | undat apex, Campana fremens ceu saxa uaporat | conditus Inarimes aeterna mole Typhoeus*; also 5.165–7 *tandemque potitus | pectore Cirrhaeo non umquam plenior artus | Phoebados*

inrupit Paean mentemque priorem. Cf. Verg. A. 6.48 f. *pectus anhelum, | et rabie fera corda tument.*

678 quo feror: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.2 *quae nemora aut quos agor in specus...?*; Sen. Ag. 720–2, 724 f. *quid me furoris incitam stimulus noui, | quid mentis inopem, sacra Parnasi iuga, | rapitis?... | cui nunc uagor uesana? cui bacchor furens? | iam Troia cecidit—falsa quid uates agor?* In each case, the effect is to underscore the compulsion of the possessed to prophesy. This question (and variants) also traditionally points to the disorientation of the subject, as at Aesch. Ag. 1087 f. Ἀπολλων· Ἀπολλων· | ἀγνιᾶτ', ἀπόλλων ἐμός. | ᾧ ποῖ ποτ' ἤγαγές με; πρὸς ποίαν στέγην; Pl. Men. 835 *Euhoe Bacche, Bromie, quo me in silvam venatum vocas?*; Hor. *Carm.* 3.27.37; Verg. A. 4.595 *quid loquor? aut ubi sum?*; 10.670 *quo feror? unde abii? quae me fuga quemue reducit?*; Ov. *Ars* 3.667 *quo feror insanus?*; *Met.* 9.509; *Fast.* 4.573, 5.147. The passive *feror* describes rapid, uncontrolled movement and often carries clear overtones of uncontrollable mental agitation (TLL 6.561.62–564.62); cf. *φέρομαι* at Hom. *Il.* 20.172; [Pl.] *Clit.* 407b (Austin (1955) on Verg. A. 4.110; Harrison (1991) on Verg. A. 10.20–2; NR on Hor. *Carm.* 3.27.37).

super aethera: cf. Verg. A. 1.379 (Aeneas) *fama super aethera notus*; Apul. *Met.* 4.33.5 *pinnis uolitans super aethera.*

679 uideo Pangaea: NR on Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.10–11 infer a commonly known pictorial representation of a bacchant surveying the vista from Catul. 64.61; Ov. *Ep.* 10.49; Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.10–11; LIMC 3.1.1058–60, 3.2.731 f. (cf. Hardie (1993b) 122). If this is the case, Lucan's epic successors have abandoned the pretence in their respective adaptations of this scene: V. Fl. 1.226 *cerno et thalamos ardere iugales*; Stat. *Theb.* 4.397 *uideo concurrere tauros*; Sil. 8.660 *uideo per densa uolantem | agmina ductorem Libyae.*

679–80 Pangaea niuosis | cana iugis: Pangaeus is a coastal mountain near Amphipolis in Thrace; it lies south-west of Philippi (RE 18.589.36–592.56). The details here are redolent of Seneca: cf. *Med.* 383 f. *cum iam recepto maenas insanit deo | Pindi niualis uertice aut Nysae iugis*; *Phaed.* 233 *hunc in niuosi collis haerentem iugis [sequi... placet]*; *Oed.* 808 *pastor niuoso sub Cithaeronis iugo*; *Dial.* 6.18.4 *montium magnis et niualibus surgentium iugis erecti in sublime*

uertices. Cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 1.696 f. *Phoebe parens, seu te Lyciae Pataraea niuosis | exercent dumeta iugis*, 4.290 *candensque iugis Lampsacia niuosis*. On *niuosis*: 562 n.

680 Haemi sub rupe: a mountain range in Thrace (Mela 2.17; cf. *RE* 7.2221.50–2226.3). A variant phrase in the same position is at Verg. A. 8.295 *Nemeae sub rupe*.

Philippos: on the plural here and at 696 cf. Mynors (1990) on Verg. G. 1.489–90 is concise:

Philippi in eastern Macedonia, the scene of a decisive victory of Antony and Octavian over Brutus and Cassius on 23 October 42 BC. . . . To the public, Pharsalus and Philippi . . . were what mattered; and as they receded into history, and were seen as two decisive steps in one progress towards the Principate, the poets heightened their dramatic significance (encouraged perhaps by a misunderstanding of . . . [Verg. G. 1.490]) by imagining, or writing as though they supposed, that they were actually fought on the same ground.

For the conceit: Verg. G. 1.490; Ov. *Met.* 15.823; Man. 1.908–13; Petr. 121.111 f.; Juv. 8.242.

681 quis furor: 8n.

o Phoebe, doce: cf. Statius' narrator at *Theb.* 4.649–51 *quis iras | flexerit, unde morae, medius quis euntibus error*, | *Phoebe, doce: nos rara manent exordia famae*.

quo tela manusque: PG *quo Ω quae* G corr. *quod*: reservations are *quo* in 678 and 683, but this is less emphatic with an author whose style is characterized by repetition. *quae* ('what manner of weapons are these . . .?', Oudendorp (1728), Cortius (1828–29; Heitland (1895) 193) is feeble in this context. Getty's *quot* 'takes from the force of *Romanae* and leaves the second half of the sentence hanging in the air' (Fordyce (1940) 98). Perhaps Cortius' indignant *quid* is better.

tela manusque: a line ending at Verg. A. 6.57 (cf. 10.433); after Lucan: Stat. *Theb.* 1.655, 5.720.

682 Romanae . . . acies: a collocation frequent in historiography, particularly Livy, although of the greatest importance is Verg. G. 1.489 f. *ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis | Romanas acies iterum uidere Philippi*.

miscent acies: cf. *TLL* 8.1084.41–55. Close parallels are Verg. *G.* 2.281–3 *derectaeque acies ac late fluctuat omnis | aere renidenti tellus, necdum horrida miscent | proelia*; Sil. 9.330 *primas agitent acies, certamina miscent*.

bellumque sine hoste est: *–que* is ‘when’; *hostis* carries particular force as ‘foreign enemy’ (*OLD* 2b; *TLL* 6.3056.65–3061.37), as opposed to *inimicus*, a personal enemy.

683 primos...in ortus: ‘to the threshold of the east’, i.e. Egypt. *primus* in a solar context usually means ‘eastern’ (*OLD* 6; *TLL* 10.2.1352.21–7) but here it is ‘the nearest part of, the entrance, the threshold, or sim., of’ (*OLD* 10b; *TLL* 10.2.1351.57–72; used again at 9.413 f.). For Egypt as the threshold of the east, cf. e.g. Mela 1.9 *Asiae prima pars Aegyptus* (Hudson-Williams (1984) 454, (1990) 578 f.).

684 Note again the consecutive, rhyming noun-adjective pairs at the main caesura and line end.

Lagei...Nili: cf. 8. 692 [of Ptolemy XIII] *ultima Lageae stirpis perituraque proles*, 10.414 *Lagea domus*. Lagus was the father of Ptolemy I Soter and therefore founder of the line (*RE* 12.462.11–464.32). The adjective is first found in *BC* (5x); after Lucan at V. Fl. 6.118; Sil. 1.196, 10.321; Mart. 10.26.4.

gurgite Nili: again at line’s end at 10.53; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.115.

685–6 hunc ego, fluminea deformis truncus harena | qui iacet, agnosco: Pompey. Lucan is playing off the paradox that Pompey’s headless corpse (cf. Verg. *A.* 2.558 *sine nomine corpus*) and disfigured body are his distinguishing characteristics. This paradox will be re-examined in detail in the narrative of Pompey’s death and decapitation at 8.698–711 (Narducci (1979) 44; Mayer (1981) on Luc. 8.711 ‘one expects a headless body to be unrecognisable’). A sophisticated circuit of historical and generic allusions is completed in these lines: Lucan invokes Vergil’s Priam at *A.* 2.557 f. *iacet ingens litore truncus, | auulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus*; the reference, however, has already been prefigured in Vergil’s own allusion in these lines to Pompey’s death (cf. Serv. *A.* 2.557). Hinds (1998) 9 reads *agnosco* as operating both within the internal logic of the poem and signalling the intertextual allusion to Vergil: ‘As a prophet she recognizes Pompey, of course, who will lie decapitated where the river

Nile meets the sea twenty months and seven books of *De Bello Ciuili* later. But as a reflexive annotator, engaged in another kind of vatic interpretation, she recognizes Priam—dramatizing our own realization, as readers, that we too have seen this decapitated trunk before: in the second book of the *Aeneid* (see Narducci (1973) 317–25; Hinds (1998) 8–10): this connection underscores Pompey’s death as emblematic of the destruction of the community he represents in *BC*, just as the details of Priam’s body form the climactic representation of the destruction of Troy at Verg. *A.* 2.554–7 *haec finis Priami fatorum, hic exitus illum | sorte tulit Troiam incensam et prolapsa uidentem | Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum | regnatorem Asiae*. Add to this circuit of intertextual communication the eponymous hero of Seneca’s *Agamemnon*, whose death and decapitation (an innovation in Seneca) is described at 901–3 *habet, peractum est. pendet exigua male | caput amputatum parte et hinc trunco cruor | exundat, illinc ora cum fremitu iacent*. Pompey, the self-styled new Agamemnon (see Champlin (2003) 295–305), is implicitly evoked in the death of Vergil’s Priam. Seneca, brilliantly, widens the circuit of allusion to incorporate the object of the historical Pompey’s aspirations, while maintaining the implicit evocation of the deaths of Pompey and Vergil’s Priam: in the perfect civil war allusion, the deaths of the two opposing kings are collapsed into one another. Lucan’s *matrona* completes the circuit: foreseeing the future of her own narrative, and at the same time recognizing (*agnosco*) and activating for the reader the interplay of tragic and epic resonances at work in the figure of Pompey’s death; see Berno (2004) 79–84.

Pompey’s death is insistently foreshadowed throughout the poem: cf. 140, 2.731–6, 5.63, 5.475, 6.810, 7.704, 8.11, 8.81, 8.393, 8.436 f. For the details of his death mentioned here, in *BC* cf. 8.698 f. *litora Pompeium feriunt, truncusque uadosis | huc illuc iactatur aquis*, 708–11 *pulsatur harenis, | carpitur in scopulis hausto per uulnera fluctu, | ludibrium pelagi, nullaue manente figura | una nota est Magno capitis iactura reuolsi*; cf. also 752–8, 777–93. *truncus* of a human torso is found as early as Lucr. 3.404.

This is one of the most discussed moments of the poem: to the references above, add Ahl 184 f.; Moles (1983) 287 f.; Feeney (1986) 239–43; Bowie (1990) 470–81; Morgan (2000) 52–5; Pagán (2006) 208 f.

qui iacet, agnosco: Statius adapts this in the same *sedes* in the context of Amphiarasus' vision at *Theb.* 3.547 *qui cadit, agnosco*.

686 dubiam ... Syrtim: (367–8 n.) as at 9.303 f. *Syrtes uel, primam mundo natura figuram | cum daret, in dubio pelagi terraeque reliquit*; and 9.681. Cf. Verg. *A.* 4.41 *inhospita Syrtis*; Sen. *Thy.* 292 *dubiumque Libycae Syrtis ... fretum*; *Phaed.* 570 *incerta Syrtis*; *Dial.* 6.25.3 *incertarum uada Syrtium*; Stat. *Theb.* 1.687 f.; Serv. *A.* 6.60.

686–7 Syrtim | ... feror Libyen: looks ahead to the events of book nine. Lucan uses the accusative without a preposition after verbs of motion here, 5.9, 5.534, 7.477, 8.170, 8.845. It is a long-standing idiom in poetry, especially with the names of countries (Austin (1971) on Verg. *A.* 1.2).

super aequora: cf. 678 *super aethera*.

687 arentemque ... Libyen: cf. 205 n.; also 3.294 *Libye ... arida*; Ov. *Met.* 2.237 f.

tristis Enyo: as at [Ov.] *Ep. Sapph.* 139 *furialis Enyo* (also at line's end). Heitland (1895) 9 defends Ω *erinys*. A Cappadocian goddess, Ma, was associated by the Greeks with the goddess of war, Enyo, and by the Romans with their own Bellona (565 n.). After her appearance here, Enyo is explicitly associated with civil war, as at Petr. 120. 61 f.; Mart 6.32.1. Ritual aspects of her worship are described at Tib. 1.6.43–56 (Wissowa (1912) 348–50; Knox (1995) on [Ov.] *Ep. Sapph.* 139).

688 Emathias acies: again at 8.531; V. Fl. 2.640 (cf. also 1 n.).

688–90 nunc desuper Alpis | nubiferae colles atque aeriam Pyrenen | abripimur: i.e. a 'round trip' from Africa by way of Munda in Spain 'with the added complication of a ὕστερον πρότερον, Alps before Pyrenees' (Shackleton Bailey (1987) 76). One should compare the adaptation of this figure at the culmination of the prophecy of Mopsus at V. Fl. 1.224–6.

688 desuper Alpis: a line ending at Grat. 510.

689 nubiferae colles atque aeriam Pyrenen: adapted from Ov. *Met.* 2.226 *aeriaeque Alpes et nubifer Appenninus*, itself adapting Verg. *A.* 3.680 *aeriae quercus aut coniferae cyparissi*. *nubifer* occurs again at

2.459, 3.299, 5.415 (see 48 n.). The Graecism *aerius* (ἀέριος) is found applied to mountains at Verg. *G.* 3.474, *A.* 3.680; Stat. *Theb.* 8.408, 9.220; Sil. 15.168. On the spondaic fifth foot, see 329 n.

691 The last golden line of the book (40 n.).

impiaque ... bella: the adjective has a long-standing connotation of civil war: Verg. *Ecl.* 1.70; *G.* 1.511; Hor. *Epod.* 16.9; *Carm.* 2.1.30 *impia proelia* (again at V. Fl. 5.221) (Fugier (1963) 382 f.). This particular collocation is found again at 7.171; cf. Verg. *A.* 12.31; Curt. 4.1.12; V. Fl. 3.30; Stat. *Theb.* 11.123, 11.348, 12.84; Sil. 4.46, 11.28; Mart. 4.11.3.

in medio ... senatu: cf. Ov. *Pont.* 4.9.47.

peraguntur bella: the prefix underscores the final completion of the war, with Caesar's assassination (*TLL* 10.1.1180.65–72) for the collocation (again at 4.354, 9.851, 10.391) cf. e.g. Sen. *Tro.* 1168.

692 Note the compressed sequence recounting the outbreak of the war in the senate at Rome (*consurgunt partes*) and its immediate spread throughout the world (*totumque per orbem*).

consurgunt partes: the last instance of this verb in *BC* was at 580 *e medio uisi consurgere Campo* | ... *Sullani*, where its primary nuance was of the resurrection of the dead (*TLL* 4.620.54–63); here this combines with the major semiotic force of the verb, of rising up ready for some hostile action (*TLL* 4.622.28–47: a usage prominent in Livy and Seneca). Clearly there is some integration at 580 of the latter nuance as the surrounding lines suggest (578–83). Here also we find, in the explicit context of repetitive cycles of civil war, a notion of the resurrection of past civil wars made flesh—of Caesar himself resurrected in the form of his *partes*—in the immediate aftermath of his assassination. So too, most immediately and physically, note the nuance of senators rising from their seats (*in medio ... senatu*).

iterum: picked up at 693 *rursus*.

totumque per orbem: cf. *Epic. Drusi* 373 [*Fortuna*] *quaque ruit furibunda ruit totumque per orbem*.

693–4 *rursus eo ... uidi iam, Phoebe, Philippos:* adapts Verg. *G.* 1.490 *Romanas acies iterum uidere Philippi*.

noua ... litora ... | telluremque nouam: note the chiasmus of adjectives and nouns.

693 **cernere**: frequently used of prophetic visions: cf. e.g. Verg. A. 6.87 (and cf. also its use in a potentially prophetic moment at 8.676); Sen. Ag. 730; V. Fl. 1.226, 1.236, 4.619.

694 **uidi iam**... **Philippos**: at 680.

695 **haec ait**: sc. *uerba*; a common formula for terminating direct speech (Verg. A. 5x; Ov. Met. 1x; V. Fl. 6x; Stat. Theb. 1x; Sil. 6x), but only here in BC.

lasso iacuit deserta furore: cf. 4.279 *deserat hic feruor mentes*; Sen. Ag. 775 *iam peruagatus ipse se fregit furor*. Note the personification of the *matrona's furor* (ASL: *qui lassos faciat*). Lucan's vocabulary may be influenced by the maenadic simile at the beginning of the speech and at Ov. Am. 1.14.21 f. *ut Thracia Bacche, | cum temere in uiridi gramine lassa iacet* (cf. TLL 7.991.41–56). The literary topos of the reclining or sleeping bacchant is at least as old as Eur. Bacch. 683 (Fedeli (1980) on Prop. 1.3.5); here it is also important that fainting follows a vision, as with Phemonoe at 5.224, Seneca's Hercules (*Her. F.* 1042–53), Cassandra (Ag. 775–8 with Tarrant (1976) ad loc.), and Statius' Calchas (*Achil.* 1.536 f.). Getty compares the final verb of Verg. A. 3.716–18 *sic pater Aeneas intentis omnibus unus | fata renarrabat diuum cursusque docebat. | conticuit tandem factoque hic fine quieuit*; fundamentally important to this context is the Sibyl at Verg. A. 6.102 *cessit furor et rabida ora quierunt*; cf. too, in the immediate aftermath of possession, Stat. Theb. 4.404 f. *sic fata gelatis | uultibus et Baccho iam demigrante quieuit*.

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M Montepessulanus bibl. med. H 113 saec. IX 2/4
P Parisinus bibl. publ. Lat. 7502 saec. X
G Bruxellensis bibl. Burgund. 5330–2 (olim Gemblacensis) saec. X
U Leidensis Vossianus Lat. XIX F. 63 saec. X
V Leidensis Vossianus Lat. XIX Q. 51 saec. X
Ω consensus codicum ZM cum PGUV uel omnibus uel tribus uel duobus
ω PGUV
A Ashburnhamensis, Parisinus bibl. publ. Lat. ‘nuov. acq.’ 1626 saec. IX 2/4
Z² codicis Z correctiones
M² codicis M correctiones
G² codicis G correctiones
A² codicis A correctiones
s alii codices, praesertim recentiores
c scholia ex cod. Bernensi 370 saec. X med. uel 3/4
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